University of Alberta

'We Shall Overcome'

Economic Stress, Articulation and the Life of Folkways Record and Service Corp., 1948 - 1969.

by

Anthony Allan Olmsted

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Department of Anthropology

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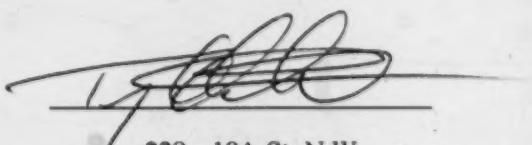

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FOLKWAYS RECORDS was created to document contemporary sounds, be they music, speech or natural phenomena.

Like an encyclopedia, there are over 2,000 record albums that reflect the sounds of the earth and its peoples. Folkways continues to issue recordings that are brought by governments, anthropologists, musicians, educators, etc. Folkways is also like an encyclopedia in that sales criteria are not used. The Music of Afghanistan is as important as the music of the Cajun people, even though one may sell more copies than the other. Both are found in the Folkways catalog because they depict the unique music of a culture.

Folkways is also a living archive in that we deem it essential that all recordings be kept "in print." Although *Growing Up with Ella Jenkins* is requested more often than *Sounds & Ultra-Sounds of The Bottle-Nose Dolphin* makes it no more or less valuable. Both give Folkways its reputation and define its unique role.

As Director, I have tried to create an atmosphere where all recordings are treated equally regardless of the sales statistics. My obligation is to see that Folkways remains a depository of the sounds and musics of the world and that these remain available to all. The real owners of Folkways Records are the people that perform and create what we have recorded and not the people that issue and sell the product. The obligation of the company is to maintain the office, the warehouse, the billing and collections of funds, to pay the rent and telephone, etc. Folkways succeeds when it becomes the invisible conduit from the world to the ears of human beings.

Moses Asch

- excerpt of 'Folkways Records - Declaration of Purpose', c.1980s

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled *'We Shall Overcome': Economic Stress, Articulation and the Life of Folkways Record and Service Corp., 1948 - 1969*, submitted by Anthony Allan Olmsted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this work is to examine the utility of the Marxian concept of articulation in illuminating the productive position of independent recording companies with specific reference to Folkways Records and Service Corp. of New York City.

This theoretical position is drawn from a combination of the work of Marx, the implications of the substantivist (Marxian) arguments in economic anthropology, and work in the French Marxist traditions, particularly as contrasted by Jean Baudrillard and Pierre Bourdieu. These theoretical threads support my contention that the relations of production within and surrounding Folkways Records are different enough from typical capitalist relations of production to be considered an alternative productive formation. The behavior of Folkways is then characterized through study of the patterns of articulation between this alternative productive formation and the larger, more enveloping capitalist relations of production.

The documentary history of Folkways Records begins with Asch Records (1940-45) and DISC Records (1945-47), leading to the formation in 1948 of Moses Asch's third record company, Folkways Records. After a review of both Asch and DISC, the life of Folkways Records is outlined, beginning with a detailed review of record production and relationships involved in domestic and foreign distribution. Different outlets used by Folkways in the selling of recordings - radio, print, licensing, and education - are examined. The accounting of Folkways Records, its sibling company Pioneer Record Sales, and Moe Asch's finances are also outlined. The data is concluded with a discussion of the importance of the catalogs from Asch, DISC and Folkways, and how these catalogs were shaped by the vision of Moses Asch.

The work concludes with an analysis of the importance of the economic position of Folkways. Theorized as an alternative economic unit, Folkways can be recognized as having much more flexibility and control over productive relations with capital than is

allowed by other theoretical positions. Most important, it provides a way to better understand the cultural legacy of Folkways recordings and a mechanism to theorize independent recording companies in a way that recognizes their unique contributions to cultural production.

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On a personal note, I would like to thank my parents Dr. Allan D. and Noreen Olmsted, and my brother Pat, as well as my extended family and fantastic circle of friends who have weathered it all with grace and good humour and endless support.

Finally, to my wife Julie who has been with me on this project since day one and has been the most wonderful and supportive companion anyone could wish for. You can breathe now - it's over!

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Late 1986 witnessed a remarkable transition. Amid the sadness of the passing of Moses Asch in October of that year, the preservation of his life's work was nearing completion. Folkways Records and Service Corp., nearly 40 years old and tough as its founder, was being enshrined within the Nation's Museum - the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, DC.

Many of those that heard the announcement likely had never heard of Folkways Records. To these people, the acquisition by the Smithsonian of Folkways Records - a record company? - might have seemed unusual. It might even have generated a little bit of passing curiosity about the kind of record company that the Smithsonian might want.

But many others throughout the world had relationships with Folkways Records, and understood the importance of this landmark acquisition by the Smithsonian. Many artists and business people had direct relationships with Moe Asch - the irascible captain of the Folkways ship. Many consumers let Folkways help raise their children, and turned to Folkways to be informed and entertained and educated. To these people the enshrining of Folkways Records in the Smithsonian would make sense. It would mark the legitimation of a life-long project begun by Moe Asch and ultimately completed by him. It would mean that a collection of recordings - recordings that unquestionably evoke a range of reactions from glee to disgust - was being honored by the official cultural order for its integrity, importance, and dedication to its founding principle: to preserve the sounds and musics from America and throughout the world.

What kind of record company was Folkways Records? Its facets are many and varied, all dedicated to their own ends, but all coming together to create the 'mosaic' of sound that was so important to Moe Asch. The categorical breakdown of the catalog reflects this diversity of content. In the United States he recorded American folk music, bluegrass, Old Time country, Cajun, gospel, blues, R&B, jazz and even some early rock (The Fugs - 5304)[1]. He recorded indigenous musics throughout the world, from American Indian and Hawaiian to music from virtually every major geographical local on several continents. There are theme areas including historical and political songs, soundtracks, children's records, holiday recordings of many faiths, traditional and contemporary

[1] This is the standard Folkways catalog number - typically a four digit number preceded by a genre code.

classical music and electronica. Moe moved beyond 'music' and into the spoken word through drama, prose and poetry, humor, historical works, instructional recordings of all types, science, nature, and health. Such variety stands as a true testament to the encompassing vision of Moe Asch.

Perhaps more remarkably, Moe and Folkways did it all in an economic setting that was almost never stable, moving from crisis to crisis in order to release the next recording. Sales of Folkways recordings were always a problem, thus cash flow was always a problem. Often, the sales were too low, but there was also the risk of too many orders coming too quickly which could exhaust existing capital and lines of credit. Folkways did generate a considerable amount of income, but there was little opportunity for Moe to build any savings to act as a buffer against adversity. Virtually all resources were spent on outstanding debts or used to release any number of recordings that were 'ready to go' and just needed the financial boost to get them into the catalog.

The key to much of the success of Folkways came from the lessons learned from the failure of earlier enterprises: Asch Records, 1940-45 and DISC Records, 1945-47. The most important of these lessons was to keep production costs as low as possible. Overspending on production and not selling enough to recoup the expense were behind much of DISC's failure. With Folkways, keeping production costs to a few hundred dollars a record meant that Moe could break even with sales of only a few hundred copies. This was a sound strategy as, more often than not, his records would only sell 10's of copies a year.

Based on tally books used to calculate royalty sales, the sales listed below in Tables 1.1 and 1.2 give a good indication of the lowest and highest levels of sales of some of the Folkways titles. The figures in both tables are based on 9 of 14 six-month reporting periods (January - June or July - December) from January 1959 to December 1965. The high and low sales categories represent sales over a single, six-month sales period. In Table 1.1 it is clear that a low-selling Folkways album was very close to one that never sold at all. During the same period, however, Moe was able to sell enough of some records to keep the rest of the catalog going (Table 1.2). If only a few hundred records were needed to break even, then these recordings were clearly best-sellers.

Continuing its association with the Smithsonian, Folkways celebrated its 50th anniversary on May 1st, 1998, operating under its new name, Smithsonian Folkways Records. All of the original recordings are still available according to Moe's explicit wishes, with new recordings being added every year. The legacy continues to persevere. But the mythology that surrounds the legacy of Folkways also perseveres. The stories of Moe - his temper, his 'unconventional' business decisions, his dedication to keeping every

title in print despite the risk, his challenges to cultural and political authority - also survive and are perpetuated.

TABLE 1.1

Examples of some of Folkways' lowest selling releases, 1959-1965.

Catalog Number	Title	High Sales	Low Sales	Total for Period[2]
2009	All Day Singin': Smoky Mountain and Creole Ballads - Adelaide Van Wey	8	0	29
2080	Ballads of La Salle County, Illinois - Keith Clark	9	0	24
2605	One Man Band - Paul Blackman	12	0	22
3862	Rawhide: A Satire (Radio Programme) - Max Ferguson	13	0	31
3863	Courlander's Almanac: Familiar Music in Strange Places - Harold Courlander	27	0	35

TABLE 1.2

Examples of some of Folkways' highest selling releases, 1959-1965.

Catalog Number	Title	High Sales	Low Sales	Total for Period
2320	American Favorite Ballads, Vol. 1 - Pete Seeger	921	62	4666
2321	American Favorite Ballads, Vol. 2 - Pete Seeger	796	35	4295
2412	Pete Seeger at Carnegie Hall - with Sonny Terry	1117	40	5986
2501	Gazette, Vol. 1 - Pete Seeger	950	10	4231

Celebrating the continued success of Folkways provides its own paradox. Among many of those who have had contact with Moe and Folkways at some time during its life, most would certainly agree that the company should not have survived. It seemed Moe would consistently go against sound business judgment for the sake of the material, to produce a product that was nearly guaranteed *not* to sell, then keep it in print. It certainly appeared on the face of it to be pure lunacy, particularly since Moe had already experienced bankruptcy in the recording industry and was well aware of the risks of such decisions.

---

[2] These totals really need to be read with caution for several reasons: 1. Not all of the sales periods are reported. There are 5, six-month periods that may not be accounted for in sales. 2. Not all the recordings were released at the same time, though all of the low sellers were released prior to January 1959. The high sellers were released at later dates, further highlighting the differences between the hot sellers that were only for sale for a short time, and the low sellers. 3. There was also a phenomenon of double reporting in which different totals were entered into Folkways books and Pioneer Record Sales books. The extent to which these numbers reflect actual sales is clearly questionable. However, the consistency of the numbers across the various books would indicate at least a representative sales level.

The wisdom of his decisions, however, stands in the fact that the operation of Folkways Records continues. There is no question that *he did it*. But how? Is there a way that we can understand the historical development of Folkways, and perhaps better understand its future? As Moe himself described the early days (Bluestein 1987:300):

> My studio at that time at 117 West 46th Street was very open. Marian Distler, my assistant, did the books, and I had the equipment....There was a window, and my equipment was against it; Marian was close with a desk and files. And on the other end was a studio that I insulated and built, about fifteen by ten feet. The door was on the other side and you walked into the studio. That was the famous studio where so much work was done. So we were always in the place, either Marian or me, and people used to come in and say "I want to record," so all I had to do was get off the desk and put the equipment on and record. Nobody ever had to call beforehand to make appointments, because they all knew I was there twelve to fourteen hours a day.

Upon reflection, there is not much to this story that might predict Folkways' future. Certainly hard work does not guarantee success. The informality of the operation and the minuscule staff would not suggest much in the way of a business plan or organization. Indeed, most descriptions of the Folkways office would omit words like 'organized' or 'planned' or 'deliberate'. This leads me to suggest that an approach that encompasses many of the non-economic factors necessary to draw a more complete picture of the life of Folkways.

The recording industry in America during the 1930s and 1940s was dominated by large corporate enterprises - RCA, Columbia and Decca - with a smattering of smaller companies. Typically, artists were recorded and recordings were produced to sell as many copies as possible, as quickly as possible. The fickle public taste and cost of inventory left few recordings with much of a 'shelf-life'. In most respects, recordings were treated then - as they are often treated in today's marketplace - as part of the fashion and tastes of the time, with little regard for longevity. The 1950s brought new prosperity and new formats - 45 rpm and 33 1/3 rpm LPs replaced 78s - that led to a boom in the number of small recording companies in what has been called the 'Age of Independents'. An increasingly fast production cycle, the growing popularity of published charts reflecting sales volume, and growing disposable income available to consumers combined to make record production little different than any other consumer industry. As a result, studies of record companies have seen little reason to challenge assumptions built from the generalization of corporate behavior.

However, my approach to Folkways comes from a different direction - one that aims to draw a broader, more inclusive picture of the operation of Folkways. Assuming, as might be most appropriate on the surface, that Moe was just another business operating in the heart of American capitalism does not seem to give us the tools to go beyond a rational, economistic level of explanation. Moe seemed to do all the things that he was not supposed

to in the recording business - his inventory was far too high, his material wasn't 'popular', his bookkeeping was rudimentary at best, and he cut deals on an *ad hoc* basis - yet he persevered.

If Moe survived without following the 'rules', perhaps we are trying to understand Moe's actions and the life of Folkways using an inappropriate set of principles. Maybe we should assume that Moe was able to separate himself just far enough from the 'typical' business practice established within capitalism to change the rules. Not that there was a dramatic difference between his operations and other companies, but just enough of a difference to allow him to accomplish the unconventional goals that he set for himself. If we begin to examine Folkways from the vantage point of a different set of rules, Moe's decisions begin to make a little more sense.

The tools for this job come mainly from the work of Karl Marx and are directed toward the examination of *modes of production* (constellations of forces and relations of production particular to a historical time and place). Instead of seeing Folkways as part and parcel of the capitalist mode of production, which is not a useful way of looking at Folkways for reasons that will become clear, we can perceive Folkways as somewhat separate from capital, but working intimately with it. In other words, Moe and Folkways operated according to a number of principles that are not central operating principles within capital, yet Folkways' relationships with other capitalist structures were close and necessary for the operation of the enterprise. Fundamentally, Folkways can thus be seen to represent a mode of production (or something like it - a constellation of interrelationships) that differs from the capitalist mode of production in some important ways. From this position, Folkways and capital can then be seen to *articulate* with one another.

This work is certainly concerned with the importance of Folkways as a producer and ultimately a repository of American and World cultural creations. More importantly, however, this work is a systematic attempt to show that Folkways stands as an important test case for a particular type of economic analysis. Folkways Records is a prime example of the ability of an alternative form of economic organization to penetrate and thrive in the very core of capitalist industry - in this case, the music industry. From this standpoint, I will use Folkways to challenge the belief that the articulation between capital and other modes of production only occurs at the periphery of capital. Such articulations can exist - as Folkways did - at the very core of capital.

* * *

This kind of theoretical analysis of a record company has not been attempted before. The reasons why such an examination of capital/non-capital relations has not occurred to date are undoubtedly various - disciplinary differences, intellectual pursuits in different

directions, or perhaps a lack of interest or resources. However, the most important and obvious reason why such an examination of recording companies and their relationship to capital has not been attempted to date is the lack of material available to reconstruct an operating history of an independent record company ('indie'). The small size of most companies often results in basic information never being recorded in a systematic way, although it must be said that even for Folkways it is more accidental than deliberate that so much documentation has survived. Alternately, the volatility of the music industry either puts companies out of business very quickly, or generates a degree of success that results in acquisition by a larger company. In either case, again, there is often little documentation to pursue in an attempt to tell a story about part or all of the company's life (Mabry 1990; Lee 1995).

The existence of the Folkways Archive at the Smithsonian Institution, however, has meant that much of the necessary data are available for analysis. The difficulty then becomes how to determine the approach to be taken in such an analysis. Most music histories in the past, as Thornton (1990) has pointed out, tend to follow one of four directions: documenting and compiling lists of information, understanding the business through the biography of a notable individual, focusing only on the 'excellent' and selecting information based on aesthetic or political grounds, and finally, using specific documentary sources (music or trade magazines) as the constraints under which the project will carried out.

Work on Folkways has certainly been dominated by the focus on the individual - specifically the founder, Moses Asch (with one notable exception - see Chen 1990). Through the years a variety of articles on 'Moe Asch and Folkways' have appeared that followed this approach (Bluestein 1987; Young 1977; Wilmer 1962, for example), and the recent publication of Peter Goldsmith's book, *Making People's Music: Moe Asch and Folkways Records* (1998), shows that there is little to be gained in the retelling. I would cautiously agree with the suggestion in Goldsmith's title, however, that in some respects it is virtually impossible to discuss any aspect of Folkways in the absence of Moe Asch.

Nonetheless, the goal of this work is to take Folkways beyond being an aside in the story of Moe Asch. What is most important here is the story about Folkways as a business. Aside from many of Moe's quirks, how did Folkways exist and expand and produce? How did Folkways come to be able to continue to function as a business under the rather strict guidelines of Moe Asch? To this end, this work is a much more categorical analysis of the production and distribution of recordings by Folkways through a particular period of American history (1948-1969). It is on this basis that such an explicitly economic framework is used throughout to guide the areas of analysis.

There is also an important social dimension to the analysis that will become clear. It would not do to make the mistake of neo-classical economics and to emphasize the economic in a way that isolates Folkways from the array of social and political forces that influenced its operation. Folkways, as much as Goldsmith argues for Moe Asch, is also a product of its time and its antecedents. As a result, there will be additional discussion throughout this work about Folkways' ancestors (Asch Records and Disc Records) as well as some of its corporate siblings with which it interacted.

Finally, there is the question of content versus form. Particularly in the case of Folkways, it would be irresponsible to focus on the recordings to the exclusion of what might be on them. Content was a particularly important theme to Moe, and it was to a great extent the single factor that allowed Folkways to grow into what it has become: a living part of the soundtrack to the twentieth century. The difficulty, of course, is the fact that even a socially informed economic analysis will diminish the role of recorded content and focus on the record that is bought and sold and counted solely as a product.

As a result, this work falls into a kind of disciplinary middle ground. Much of the music literature on recording companies fails to provide a solid theoretical foundation for discussions about the business side of the recording industry. Within the existing literature there are basically two types of scholarship. The first involves a fairly pedestrian approach to the description of the music industry and/or specific recording companies, most lacking in any kind of organized theoretical/analytical approach to the data. These would include Shore's (1983) dissertation on *The Crossroads of Business and Music: A Study of the Music Industry in the United States and Internationally*, Cusic's (1996) *Music in the Market*, or Schicke's (1974) *Revolution in Sound: A Biography of the Recording Industry*. These are clearly interesting volumes, but they add little to an already limited theoretical arsenal.

The same can also be said for works aimed at the 'sound' of certain companies or eras: the study of Stax Records by Bowman (1993, 1995) or of the Motown Sound by George (1987). More popular works like Farr's (1994) *Moguls and Madmen: The Pursuit of Power in Popular Music* or Dannen's (1990) *Hit Men: Power Brokers and Fast Money Inside the Music Business* have also garnered some attention, balanced by Garr's (1992) examination of women in popular music. While each author focuses on many of the issues and personalities of the recent music industry, they do tend to come across more sensationalist than informative from an academic point of view.[3]

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[3] Though not as directly applicable in this context, Schipper (1992) and Tremlett (1990) would also fall into this category.

The second type of scholarship could be broadly described as being more analytical, particularly with respect to their conclusions about the business of music. This is largely a result of the fact that many of these works are rooted in distinct academic traditions. The following section will consider the contributions from economics, anthropology, ethnomusicology and sociology in order to examine the range of material that each discipline can offer to this project.

There is little question that an economic perspective provides much of the foundation for this work. However, there is very little in the economic literature that provides some discussion of the social or musical component of the recording process or the music industry. Some economic studies initially appeared promising (For example, Baker 1991; Balinfante and Johnson 1982). Unfortunately, the underlying theoretical and methodological approaches simply do not allow for the flexibility needed to properly account for a company like Folkways Records.

That is not to say that credit should not be given to the two decades of research presented in the *Journal of Cultural Economics*, despite the limitations of the conclusions for non-economists. It is unfortunate, however, that many of the areas of musical enterprise chosen to be analysed in the journal are primarily conglomerate recording companies, or are 'high culture' organizations: operatic and symphonic organizations, for example. This is largely due to the explicit economic features of these types of artistic organizations (the high level of accounting required, for example). As a result, these organizations can provide the kinds of data that quantitative, mathematically-based economic models require. In fact, the lack of material on even moderately sized recording companies in the economic literature is nicely summarized by Balinfante and Johnson (1982:22):

> Most of the firms in this industry are subsidiaries or affiliates of conglomerate enterprises or privately held companies for which information with respect to profits is very limited. These companies either do not separately report the financial results of their record operations in sufficient detail for economic analysis or do not report their operations at all. Consequently, it is impossible to evaluate the profit performance for firms in the industry with currently available data.

Secondly, there is virtually no anthropological literature that deals with the music industry in even a remotely rigorous way. The reasons for this, particularly the study of typical North American or European recording companies, are relatively obvious: such topics of inquiry tend to fall outside much of the traditional areas of investigation for anthropologists. The great proportion of anthropological work has concerned itself with non-Western cultural domains. This not only left much of the study of the Western world to sociology, but also ignored or de-emphasized much of capital's infiltration into the non-Western world. Therefore, organizations as solidly 'Western' and technological as

recording companies have been, for the most part, dismissed within the bulk of anthropological literature. There has been, however, some recent efforts to understand some of the more anthropological aspects of recording in the non-Western world (Wallis and Malm 1984; Manuel 1993).[4]

The third, and logically more useful area is ethnomusicology, from which a variety of methods drawn from anthropology are applied to the study of musical cultures. There are many works that emphasize the use of anthropological methods to study music including (as only a small sampling) Merriam (1964); Nettl (1964, 1983), Herndon and McLeod (1980), Qureshi (1986), Seeger (1987) and Asch (1988). There are also a strong theoretical links joining anthropology and music in many works (see Nettl and Bohlman 1991), particularly with regard to the possible connections between music, language and general theories of communications (see for example, Feld 1974; Gronow 1987; Nattiez 1990; and to some extent Thompson 1990).

However, with the exception of Wallis and Malm (1984) and Manuel (1993), there is little concern with the larger issues surrounding the production of recordings as a focal point of research. As Stockmann (1992:15) emphasizes, it is the content of recordings themselves that 'constitute the most essential source materials for ethnomusicology'. Thus the manner in which recordings are created is only of importance when it impacts analytical methods used in the understanding of the musics contained in the recordings themselves. This point is also strongly emphasized in reviews of the early development of ethnomusicology throughout the world (see Myer 1993).

The fourth, and perhaps most fruitful area of literature that has emerged in the study of the recording industry and recording companies has been in the sociology of music. Again, this is to be expected given the tendency for sociology to direct research toward activities and social organizations within Western industrial culture. What has emerged is a focus that can be broadly divided into studies of popular musics and studies into the nature of the recording industry. The former has developed into a substantive area of study with a number of journals and monograph series being devoted to the subject. Important authors in this area include Peter Wicke (1990), John Shepherd (1982, for example), Richard Middleton (1990), and Simon Frith (1987, 1990; with Goodwin 1990). General works that are more directed to outlining the theory and methodology behind the approach of sociology to music are nicely summarized by Denisoff (1986, 1983, 1976, 1975), De Arce (1974), and Tagg (1982).

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[4] It must be noted, however, that Wallis and Malm's book is part of a series in the sociology of music, sponsored by The Gothenburg University Department of Musicology.

Unfortunately, works directed at understanding the recording industry and the nature of recording companies are woefully few. Apart from the few volumes mentioned earlier, only a couple of other works that come out of the sociological tradition come close to critically examining recordings. Hennion (1990) does well explaining the intricacies of the recording process, while Lopes (1992), Stratton (1983), Gronow (1983), and Peterson and Berger (1990) try to explain some of the trends, changes and quirks throughout the development of the recording industry.

In many respects, the works throughout the literature that are closest in spirit to the discussion of Folkways Records are Clinton Heylin's (1994) *Bootleg: The Secret History of the Other Recording Industry*, and Herman Gray's (1988) book on Theresa Records, *Producing Jazz: The Experience of an Independent Recording Company*. Following strongly from the sociological traditions of musical scholarship, both these works highlight the marginality of their respective producers - bootleg recordings and bootleggers in the first, jazz records in the second. The shift in emphasis from the mainstream 'popular' recording industry to the margins with small-scale producers is refreshing and, especially with respect to Gray's work, even more informative for the more reasoned analysis that is undertaken.

* * *

Despite the apparent mis-alignment with the major intellectual traditions in music scholarship, this project is nonetheless straight forward in its basic approach. The theory section (Chapters 2 and 3) that follows will deal more specifically with the theoretical and methodological details, respectively, that underlie the rest of the work. I should emphasize that this is not an explicitly theoretical work in the classic sense of being about theory. However, I do feel that it is particularly important to set out the basic ideas and concepts that will inform the work as it progresses, even if some of the theoretical propositions are not directly applied to the data.

The presentation of the data specific to Folkways follows the presentation of the theoretical and methodological details. Leading into the data on Folkways is a discussion of the early history of Asch Records and DISC Records, as well as some of the general background that set the foundation for the creations of Folkways (Chapter 4). The data chapters that follow are broken down into detailed discussions of how the recordings were made and distributed (Chapter 5), how they were sold and the kind of image that Moe wanted to portray with Folkways (Chapter 6), and closes with an examination of the extant financial documents of Folkways and Pioneer Record Sales (Chapter 7).

Chapter 8 attempts to examine the 'content' of Folkways recordings. This chapter is comprised of three sections that illustrate the conceptual foundation of the material that

defines Folkways. The first section consists of the many statements made by Moe over the years that might add some insight into his beliefs and motivations for Folkways. The second section presents a review of some of the catalogs that were released over the years by Asch Recording, DISC, and of course, Folkways. The last will then address the question of the relationship between some of the social changes of the mid-twentieth century and the records that were being released by Folkways.

The last two chapters comprise the concluding analysis and summary comments of the project. In Chapter 9 the concept of articulation that I alluded to earlier will come into play. It will help to account for the counter-hegemonic position that is often credited to Folkways, as well as providing a basis to outline the economic parameters of the small producer/capital relationship that so typifies Folkways as well as any number of other independent recordings companies. Chapter 10, as would be expected, will provide the final summary of this project and deal with a few of the issues that arise out of previous sections. Needless to say, there will be a variety of issues that are specifically addressed that could not have been dealt with at other points in the text.

The ultimate goal of this work is two-fold. First, I will attempt to relate as much concrete data about the history and operation of Folkways as is possible. This is important not only to support the larger theoretical argument, but also to serve as a contribution to the rather sparse literature on recording companies generally. The second, and more important goal is to show how Folkways was able to maintain an economic position apart from the more conservative institutions of capital. Moe's ability to keep distance between Folkways and the practices of the industry at the time was critical. This distance allowed Moe to position Folkways as a morally-grounded enterprise, contributing to the preservation of the world's sounds. Folkways was also able to function more efficiently in establishing worth in un-valued labour, while capitalizing on that worth in a way that a 'traditional' recording company could not have done.

Therefore, this work represents the first explicit analysis of a record company using a model based on the articulation of different modes of production. It is hoped that this project will move some distance toward setting forth an alternative theoretical and analytical model with which to better understand music producers, and perhaps other forms of musical and artistic production.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY

This chapter outlines the theoretical basics that are necessary to construct the categories used to organize the rest of the analysis of Folkways Records. Though the chapter is somewhat compartmentalized in its presentation, the manner of organization is intended to assist in identifying the main areas of concern that will arise throughout the work, specifically in the analysis and conclusions.

The first of the five sections below is an introductory discussion of economic theory in anthropology. Specifically, it sets out the parameters to the historic argument between formal and substantive approaches in economic anthropology. It will also establish the importance of identifying the economic formation within which a particular theoretical model may be grounded. The second section, Marx and Capital, covers the pertinent areas of Marxian theory including the parameters of capitalist mode of production (CMP) in general, the mechanisms for the creation of surplus within capital, and will identify the limitations to establishing theoretical space within Marx's approach in order to ground the discussion of articulation that will be a focal point of this work.

The third section combines the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Baudrillard to explore the symbolic component of commodity construction. This approach is contrasted to traditional capitalist notions of the commodity and the relationship between commodities, producers, consumers, and capital itself. The fourth section discusses a specific kind of commodity - the cultural commodity. This section will more directly explore the connection between the cultural elements of commodity production and the implications arising from the notion of a record production as a cultural enterprise.

The final section sets the foundation for the concept of articulation discussed earlier. It explores the notion of capital existing as only one part of a relationship with other modes of production. It also examines the parameters of traditional theorizing concerning the existence of modes of production, and ultimately the articulation of these modes of production.

ECONOMIC THEORY

By way of introductory comment, it is important to stress that Marx provides a powerful basis for much of economic anthropology. Marx provides an alternative to traditional economic models based on the analysis of societies with developed market

economies. As much of neo-classical economics is primarily concerned with the analysis of such economies, it is not surprising that anthropologists - who rarely study such capitalized societies - would find such an approach of little value. Marx's work on understanding the influence of class relations, history and ideology on economic processes has helped anthropologists focus on the broader extra-economic relationships that comprise the socio-economic order. Providing a means to broaden the realm of influences that can be accounted for in economic processes also fits very comfortably into the anthropological emphasis on holism, or the attempt to view cultural practices as part of ever-wider sets of relationships.

There continues to be difference of opinion, however, over whether such holistic modeling is of greater utility, or whether a more explicit, quantitative economic approach is more appropriate. This debate has been cast in a number of guises: quantitative versus qualitative, neo-classical versus Marxist[1], or, as it is presented below, formalist versus substantivist. The differences that existed for many years in economic anthropology were often cast using 'formalist' and 'substantivist' terms. As a consequence, the argument as it has been constructed in economic anthropology is presented below with these terms.

However, it is important that the broader lines of the argument as they are traced throughout the entire work are not disregarded, particularly the Marxian heritage of the substantivist position. With the exception of the section below, the discussion and analysis will use primarily Marxian and neo-classical references, as opposed to substantivist and formalist. This is not diminish the importance of the formalist/substantivist terminology within debates in economic anthropology, but will instead help broaden the terms of understanding to a wider variety of disciplines.

* * *

Formalism assumes that the actors involved in the economy are rational and will act in a way consistent with economizing behavior. As such, the actors must be: 1) calculating beings who use forethought before acting and understand their own values; 2) have all of the necessary knowledge about all of their options (costs, incomes, yields); and 3) have the necessary calculating ability to solve maximization problems (Plattner 1989:8). These are heady assumptions to apply consistently within an analysis, especially when used to attempt to describe specific observable behaviors within a culture. However, it does allow for the modeling of an abstract 'rational' actor that might be used as the ideal against which the actual behavior can be predicted.

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[1] See especially Wolff and Resnick (1987).

Alternately, the substantivists see a need to emphasize the social context within which behaviors are contained or embedded. As Karl Polanyi asserted (quoted in Halperin 1984:252),

> The human economy, then, is embedded and enmeshed in institutions, economic and non-economic. The inclusion of the non-economic is vital. For religion or government may be as important for the structure and functioning of the economy as monetary institutions or the availability of tools and machines themselves that lighten the toil of labor.

Halperin (1984) attributes the origins of this paradigm to Marx, which then entered anthropology through the work of Max Weber, and especially Malinowski and Firth.[2] She suggests that the basic assumptions of this paradigm, and the models that fall under it, first "give primacy to social relations in the analysis of economic organization" and second, "emphasize the variety of arrangements organizing production, distribution and consumption" (Halperin 1984:150). Formalism tends to be deductive, emphasizing the generalized behavior of individuals as they have acted at a particular point in time within the CMP. Substantivism counters this position by focusing on the constellations of cultural institutions that exist through time and how these constellations influence or direct the behavior of individuals within that culture (Isaac 1993:215).[3]

Marx's delineation of economies as modes of production is of central importance here. The substantivist argument closely follows the forces of production/relations of production formulation used by Marx (Marx 1971; Seddon 1978). Framing description and argument in terms of forces of production and relations of production allows investigation of economic processes without the threat of imposing terminology drawn from one economic system (capitalism) onto other, non-capitalist organizations. A further benefit from this type of approach is the ability, and indeed the theoretical necessity, to examine the processes and interrelationships implicit within any social institution, economic or otherwise.

The second major advantage that a substantivist position has over a formalist position is the regard for the breadth of interrelationships that can exist throughout the social formation. Formalism, in assuming a purely economic set of behaviors, leaves little room to identify two (or more) different sets of productive relationships as they come together within an economic formation. The notion of 'embeddedness' drawn from the

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[2] Recent work in economics has presented important work on the institutional paradigm. See, for example, North (1990).

[3] One problem with this distinction is the effort made to incorporate social factors into formal modeling. This blurs the distinction between formal and substantive theorizing considerably and the definition of what is, in fact, economic (see Plattner (1983) - though the modeling remains highly quantitative). Discussing the models as opposing poles more adequately represents them for discussion and is more representative of broader debates between them.

substantivists (or anthropological 'holism', more generally), allows an accounting of productive relations that may differ ideologically or practically from the core relations initially found within a CMP.

There is also an important processual component that can be drawn from the substantivist position. The use of analytical categories not transposable from one mode of production to another (as is the case of many of the categories arising from the formalist position) creates a methodological problem. As Marx has suggested, modes of production and the various types of conceptual categories that define those modes are historically specific and cannot be transposed to another mode without being appropriately redefined (Sayer 1987). However, a diachronic analysis can take into account transitions from one mode of production to another, or, as is the case with this project, focus on the articulation between differing constellations of productive relations through time. The use of categories specific to one mode or even a specific period, could lead to substantial error in the analysis. Indeed, Clammer (1985:40) has asserted that

> the definition of the production relationship is only to be derived from an understanding of the location of that relationship within the total structure of socio-economic relationships which comprise the society. The isolation of one moment or aspect of the cycle, or totality, contradicts the possibility of a processual analysis...

Thus, a Marxian-influenced substantivist position allows for more flexibility in the construction of analytically useful categories. An additional benefit to this position is the flexibility that it allows to accommodate the 'learning curve' of Moe Asch and others involved with Folkways. Not to account for the adaptation and increased sensitivity of the actors to their social context in a diachronic analysis would be a considerable error. It also serves as a useful reminder not to let any advanced theorizing about situations or behavior cloud the understanding of the behavior of the actors themselves, particularly if the analysis is serving as a case study.

Marx And Capital

The importance of this section is to establish that there is theoretical room within a Marxian perspective to configure an analysis of capital to include relations between the core of capital and an alternative mode of production. This is of particular relevance with respect to labor and the examination of the process of the 'translation' of labor value into capital from within an alternative mode of production.

There has long been disagreement about the way that Marx meant to formulate the capitalist mode of production in his work. Authors like Cohen (1978, 1983) and Shaw (1978) have tended to isolate the operation of the economic base from the politicolegal superstructure and then give the base primacy in the functioning of the entire system. In

this way they have rightly emphasized the importance of economic motivations in the operation of the CMP, but have imputed to the economy too strong a role in the construction of the political and legal structures that constrain it.

I believe there is more flexibility in the operation of contemporary capitalism. In this respect it is very difficult to accept Cohen or Shaw as providing an adequate analytical model. Sayer's (1987) analysis of Marx's work suggests that Marx himself likely meant there to be a much greater dynamic interaction between the economic, political and legal forces that guide the flow of capital. Formulating capital in this way erodes much of the rigidity suggested in the base/superstructure metaphor into a more organic whole.[4] The economic organisation still continues to be the primary focus of the analysis, but there is also much more room to incorporate the influence of political decision-making (and public input) and the sedimentation of political decisions onto the legislative corpus (i.e., the creation and perpetuation of legislative precedent) in the functioning of the economy.

An important parallel to the previous point is the Marxian formulation of the political relationships within the state. To view the more determinist, Cohenesque interpretation of the economy from the viewpoint of the operation of the state, some similarities to the (in)famous perspective of Althusser become evident. The state is seen as the handmaiden of capital, geared to serve the interests of the capitalists. In doing so, Althusser (1992) sees the state as a series of 'ideological apparatuses' that are designed to maintain the status quo in order to maximize the performance of the economy and to repress the inherent tensions between the owners of capital and labor, either by ideological means or by force. Both authors downplay the role of the individual and the possibility of negotiation within the structures they discuss.

Conversely the flexibility attached to Sayer's analysis is consistent with the political interpretations of Gramsci (1990). Gramsci's position suggests that it is the manipulation of the negotiation process between the ruling class and 'counter-hegemonic' forces that allows the ruling classes to maintain the status quo. Instead of the perceived immutability of the state structures that Althusser suggests, Gramsci places the power of the state in the co-optation of peripheral positions, which allows the state to acknowledge and neutralize hegemonic/counter-hegemonic tensions. Incorporation of these positions into the state gives the state more control over the expression of these views than it would otherwise have, and also places those challenging the state in the awkward position of criticising a system of which they are now a part.

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[4] This is also very similar to 'relational Marxism', but with some subtle differences. These differences will not be pursued further here. See Sherman (1995).

However, both Althusser and Gramsci are concerned with the extent to which either non-dominant relations within capital, or productive relations external to capital can interrelate with core capitalist structures - particularly hegemonic structures. This is an important concern, given the necessity of capital to continually renew itself by expanding its productive base in search of un-valued or de-valued labour (much more will be said on this below). The question of how these external structures interact - or 'articulate' - with the CMP then becomes quite involved, as will be shown.

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Central to Marx's analysis of capital is the notion that the role of capital in the functioning of the economy is to produce more capital through the generation of surplus. In order to do this, there is a basic inequity between the labor exerted by the worker and the labor paid for by the capitalist. The creation of surplus through the inequity of labour value is perhaps best summarized by Afanasyev (1974:54):

> The capitalist who has bought labor power uses it in production to create new commodities containing new value. The value of labor power and the value created by the labor of the worker differ. The latter is much greater than the former. This excess of value, created by the labor of the worker over the value of labor power constitutes surplus value. So, the specific use value of labor power is the worker's ability to create a surplus value, that is, a value greater than the value of his labor power.

At a macro-theoretical level the functioning of capital revolves around the maintenance of the creation of surplus. In order for capital to continue to grow, the difference between the value of labor power purchased by the capitalist and the value created by that labor power must be maintained. To this end, Marx focused his analysis primarily on those sources of surplus labor internal to the CMP: mechanization and population growth (reproduction of the work force). Both of these processes result in a net surplus of workers, which then translates into a devaluation of labor power with respect to value created in the expenditure of that labor.

However, capital simply cannot maintain growth through surplus solely by internal mechanisms. There must be some interaction between capital and other sources of value. One way to classify these sources is by identifying their degree of externality to capital. Closest to capital are the processes of peasant migration into the urban areas, and the expropriation of labor from artisan producers. Both provide extra labor power for capitalist production and as such aid in increasing the degree of surplus value produced. At the furthest distance to the operation of the CMP itself is the relation of the capitalist mode of production to non-capitalist spheres. Thus immigration from non-capitalist areas into capitalist-influenced areas and the exportation of capital into non-capitalized areas serve to further capitalist expansion into larger and larger areas (Howard and King 1989:277-80).

Virtually all writers agree that capital must use some type of strategy to maintain growth (Scott 1976, for example). We could even say that one of the essential features of capital is the incessant drive to expand its range in order to maintain the process of capital accumulation. In the absence of this expansion, capitalist growth will collapse. Therefore, capital must be able to interact or articulate with systems of productive organization different from itself and to incorporate these systems into its accumulative tendencies. Politically, this type of articulation must be supported or protected in order for the CMP to be successful and society as a whole to be prosperous. However, implicit in the necessity of forging relations with alternative productive entities is the recognition of the importance of these entities to the operation of capital. Folkways will be shown to occupy this alternative productive space.

Bourdieu and Baudrillard

The inclusion of work by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Baurdillard into this analysis may not be obvious. However, one of the tasks that must be undertaken in the course of applying Marx to the understanding of articulation, particularly as it applies to Folkways, is to test its legitimacy against other theoretical models. Both Bourdieu and Baudrillard have attempted at various times to move away from a commodity-based economic model and suggest an alternative. The uniting feature of both authors is the attempt to use the symbolic elements of commodity production, exchange and consumption as a means to get past the limitations of a purely economic model of commodity relations. While Bourdieu focuses quite specifically on the symbolic element of production, Baudrillard goes even further to criticize outright Marx's failure to extricate himself from the lure of production and productivist discourse. Instead, Baudrillard suggests that it is consumption that must be favored, resulting in some interesting analytical implications.

As mentioned above, Bourdieu is largely concerned with the impact of the symbolic on production and exchange. As a somewhat convoluted introduction to his point, Bourdieu (1985:21) suggests that

> The circularity of the relations of cultural production and consumption resulting from the objectively closed nature of the field of restricted production, enables the development of symbolic production to take on the form of an almost reflexive history. The incessant clarification of the foundations of his work provoked by criticism or the work of others determines a decisive transformation of the relation between the producer and his work, which reacts, in turn, on the work itself.

The importance of the concept of the field of restricted production will be expanded in Chapter 9. However, the utility of such a position is its ability to illustrate the manner in which Folkways made a relatively minor economic contribution to the industry, but

nonetheless came to be a very powerful cultural force within a variety of peripheral consumer niches.

Expanding on symbolic production, Bourdieu (1985:16) introduces the notion of symbolic goods which he sees as "a two-faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object: Their specifically cultural value and their commercial value remain relatively independent..." Thus a cultural commodity is an object or service that has both commercial value (use-value and exchange-value) and a symbolic component. The legitimation of this symbolic component, according to Bourdieu (1985:24), is largely in the hands of the particular cultural fields in which the object is created and circulated. Therefore,

> All internal and external relations (including relations with their own work) that agents of production, reproduction and diffusion manage to establish are mediated by the structure of relations between members of various institutions claiming to exercise a specifically cultural authority....[I]t also includes the objective relations between producers and different agents of consecration, authorities belonging to specific institutions such as academies, museums, learned societies and the educational system; by their symbolic sanctions, especially by practicing a form of co-optation, these authorities are consecrating a certain type of work and a certain type of cultivated man.[5]

There arises from this position the somewhat arrogant implication that those that do not produce are somehow of a lesser quality, or that in all (or most) cases, products destined for producers would not also be directed at non-producers. However, despite the arrogance, this distinction may prove to be useful in understanding the development of autonomy within the restricted field and the use of autonomy as a potential component of definition for producers of cultural commodities.[6]

This appears to be especially pertinent to the distinction between record companies - the majors versus the independents.[7] Bourdieu (1985:28) notes that large-scale producers,

> whose submission to external demand is characterized by the subordinate position of cultural producers in relation to the controllers of production and diffusion media, principally obeys the imperatives of competition for conquest of the market. The structure of its socially neutralized product is the result of the economic and social conditions surrounding its production....Even when it is more specifically aimed at a determinate category of non-producers, it may nonetheless eventually reach a socially heterogeneous public.

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[5] The implicit classism and elitism in this type of formulation will not be addressed here. Bourdieu (1985:25) tips his hand in this respect by stating that "By defending the sphere of legitimate culture against competing, schismatic or heretical messages, which may provoke radical demands and heterodox practices among various publics, the system of conservation and cultural consecration fulfills a function homologous to that of the church." However, I do believe that the model does allow for a wider scope of symbolic authority, beyond that of the established cultural elite.

[6] Bourdieu (1985:17) measures autonomy within the restricted field by "its power to define its own criteria for the production and evaluation of its products."

[7] Certainly Folkways would be highly autonomous by Bourdieu's measure. I would suggest that independent producers generally would seem to have a higher level of autonomy in the restricted field than do the major corporations.

It is clear that from both economic and symbolic/cultural perspectives, Folkways can easily be excluded from identification with the 'large-scale producers'.

Jean Baudrillard ultimately ends up at a place similar to Bourdieu, but he uses a different line of argument to achieve his goals. First, Baudrillard re-enforces Marx's commodity fetishism using a very different argument from Marx, but in doing so pushes the conceptualization of fetishism[8] to more easily allow for the establishment of 'difference' among commodities in the marketplace. Secondly, Baudrillard also supports, though weakly, the notion that the essence of the cultural marketplace may very well be more in line with the emphasis on relationships of consumption than simply a reflection of production and productive relations

However, the most important contribution by Jean Baudrillard to this project was the publication of *The Mirror of Production* in 1975. In this volume, Baudrillard takes Marx to task for his failure to reach several goals Marx sets himself - most importantly his attempt to contribute to a critique of political economy. In structuring his critique of Marx, Baudrillard suggests that Marx is simply constrained by the system of political economy that he is trying to critique. Baudrillard breaks away from the conceptual barriers that he sees limiting Marx - the 'productivist discourse' that is generated by political economy. In doing this, Baudrillard is allowed some freedom to offer possible alternatives to the quantifying tendency of the market and to introduce a more qualitative approach to the identification of commodities based on consumption.

The main consequence of shifting to this type of consumption-based analysis is that it removes the necessity of having an 'end' to the production process. In the production universe, there is always a final product - the end result of production - and to this product all relations are oriented. By focusing on consumption, Baudrillard creates a commodity that exists as a moment within the endless chain of consumption relations.[9] Broadly speaking, production is simply an act which occurs outside of the sphere of consumption, that provides the basic material to be consumed.[10]

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[8] This is often a difficult concept. As Marx (1963:77) suggests, "In [the religious] world the productions of the human brain appear as independent beings endowed with life, and entering into relation both with one another and the human race. So it is in the world of commodities with the products of men's hands. This I call the Fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour, so soon as they are produced as commodities, and which is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities."

[9] See Kopytoff (1986) for a similar argument. Time plays an important factor in the (re)negotiation of commodity value and identity.

[10] Baudrillard ultimately dismisses production entirely, leaving one with a variety of pragmatic questions about his later conclusions.

More important is the suggestion that commodities act as the embodiments not of labor relations of production, but of social relationships of consumption, and that a commodity's essence is built not from productive enterprise, but by the manner and motive with which it is consumed. In this way, there is no longer the necessity to establish a 'value' based on 'labor', but value is accorded to the commodity through the social construction of the commodity's position within the chain of consumption relations. This particular construction, even though it is built on different theoretical foundations, ends up sounding not at all unlike Marx's construction of commodity fetishism. Both stress the social nature of the commodities themselves as they interact within exchange relations in the marketplace.

There is, however, an important difference between these two constructions. In Baudrillard's formulation, commodities can be theoretically perceived as having unique characteristics. This is critically important in working towards an accounting of music within a capitalist economy. It is the homogenizing tendency of capitalist market exchange that promotes uniformity, or at the very least, similarity between commodities. If a commodity is found that is highly desirable by the populace, then there is pressure by the machinery of capital toward production/reproduction of that commodity. This, of course, flies in the face of musical creation and the high esteem that is accorded to originality in many different consumer communities.

At its most basic, there is not really any substantial difference between Baudrillard's formulation and that of Marx's fetishism. However, Baudrillard does prove useful in drawing attention to the separation between musical consumption as an event and the consumption of music as a durable product (e.g. recordings). However, the contributions of both Bourdieu and Baudrillard are not in their conclusions, but in the direction of their arguments, which ultimately supports my basic contention that Folkways can and did exist outside core capitalist relations. Their contributions should be seen in the recognition and acknowledgment of the importance of the consumptive process to the construction of meaning that is impressed upon a commodity by the consumer.

Cultural Commodities

This discussion of the nature and scope of cultural commodities is necessary to highlight Folkways as a business that produces recordings, while attempting to understand the meaning of those recordings. In my mind it is absolutely critical that some type of allowance be permitted to consider what the content of a recording is and not simply treat recordings as disposable, undifferentiated commodities. To this end, Bourdieu's comments concerning the 'autonomy of producers' and Baudrillard's 'symbolic

consumption' point to a possible avenue into the notion of a separate kind of mode of production for artistic producers.

One of the more important relationships in this project is the relationship between the nature of cultural commodities (recordings) and the operation of a record company that produces these recordings. This relationship is a contentious one due to the conflict between the rationality of the market and the apparently 'irrational' behavior exhibited in the consumption of many cultural commodities (e.g. music or art).[11] Obviously any judgments regarding 'rational' behavior are based on the analysis/predictions of formalist models. Given this bias, it is extremely difficult for such models to account for extra-economic forces acting on the economy, let alone on items that are inherently cultural (but non-economic) that have been adopted into the broader system of commodity exchange. Furthermore, the success of cultural commodities is driven by consumptive practice, not distribution, again causing difficulties for a formalist approach.

The tension inherent in the economy/cultural commodity relationship has been hinted at by a few authors (Gray 1988; Denisoff 1986, for example), but has not been fully explored. Though this basic tension exists for the entire music industry, it is heightened as the size of the company is reduced. Large companies, able to exploit a broad range of product, have a much higher probability of success against such unpredictability in the marketplace. Smaller companies do not have the resources of the large companies; thus they must find alternative mechanisms to temper the risk of cultural commodities within the market structure itself. The nature of the market and the commodity makes the risk of failure for smaller companies like Folkways much higher, but often makes the manner in which they achieve success much more innovative.

At the core of this tension are the atypical commodity characteristics of cultural commodities, especially music or art. Consider first the use-value. Marx identified use-value as the usefulness, or the utility of the object at hand. However, it is not enough for an object to simply be useful. An object must be useful for other people, and it must have become useful through the intervention of human labor. Two conclusions follow from these conditions. First, as the physical properties of the object constitute the range of its potential social utility, it stands to reason that use-values cannot exist outside the physical properties of that object. Second, if the only utility important to a commodity is social utility, then only through consumption or use of the commodity by others will such utility

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[11] An obvious line to follow from here is to Theodor Adorno (e.g. 1978) and the work of the Frankfurt School. However, the concern over the purpose of musical production and the immanence of music character are somewhat tangential and will not be pursued here.

become manifest (Marx 1963:43-48). Thus use-values form the material basis on which social value is constructed.

Following directly from social utility is exchange-value. It is the exchange-value which gives material expression to the social character of the use-value as use-values interact in the marketplace. In other words, use-values are only material objects whose material properties make them socially desirable. The degree of social desire can only be expressed by placing the object in relation to a different object - that is, comparing its social value to other objects.[12]

The difficulty arises out of the ethereal nature of artistic - and especially musical - expression. As a result, many items produced within the broad range of the cultural industries appear to confound rationality - rationality that is often assumed by formalists within a Marxist-conceived framework of a CMP.[13] Part of the 'irrationality' in understanding the economic behavior of cultural commodities may arise from the cross-over process between the restricted and large-scale fields of production that Bourdieu delineates above.[14] However, much more importantly for this project is the possibility that the production may not be occurring within a set of productive relations that are, strictly speaking, capitalist. Clammer (1985:29) outlines this theoretical problem by suggesting that:

> ...if the theoretical apparatus of classical (i.e. capitalist) economics is *not* applicable in the anthropological field..., then not only does capitalism not exist outside its historical and geographical heartlands, except where it is imposed as an alien system, but (and here lies the fallacy) *relations of production* identical with, or closely similar to, those characterising the capitalist mode of production also do not exist outside that particular and structurally peculiar mode of production.

Marx himself suggested that the characteristic productive relationship of capital is one between an individual that owns the means of production (capital) and another individual that provides the labor. In the case of artistic production, it is most often the case that the artist will possess their own means of production and provide their own labor in the creation of an artistic product. It is only when that product enters the market and its exchange value in relation to other commodities established that the product is considered a commodity (Olmsted 1993). Marx (quoted by Wolpe, in Wolpe 1980:3-4) recognized this phenomenon:

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[12] The consideration of the value of labour in the construction of commodities is important, but is not covered here. See Olmsted (1993:9) for a summary and comments.

[13] Godelier (1972) provides a very good discussion of the notion of rationality and its roots in the 'natural' economy. These themes are also developed in Godelier (1977).

[14] Sahlins (1972) would explain this 'irrationality' in terms of the conflict between production for use and production for exchange. Though I take a different approach to this issue, I would basically agree with this position.

...where the capitalist mode of production already prevails, means of production may none the less be acquired by industrial capital...from "diverse modes of production, so far as they produce commodities....The character of the process of production from which they originate is immaterial. They function as commodities in the market, and as commodities they enter into the circuit of industrial capital."

The above statement points out a difficult proposition: is it possible or even necessary to separate out non-capitalist relations if in fact they function in a manner that is indistinguishable from fully capitalist relations? Contemporary artistic producers have occasionally made the claim that the motivation to produce work is creative and thus not for the market. In this case, such production could not be considered commodity production, yet from a market perspective they are commodity producers nonetheless.

While at first blush this analysis appears to cover virtually all of the elements of commodity characters and behaviors, what is missing is exactly what is assumed within the entire system of capital - individuality. As Marx (1963) suggests, once the commodity enters the marketplace the concrete labor embodied in the creation of a specific commodity becomes converted into abstract labor, or the labor that is credited for the establishment of value for all commodities. Obviously not all commodities are created using the same skills or the same means of production. In order for commodities to be exchanged using some type of equivalent expression of value (we use currency - money) the labor that created each commodity must also be converted into an equivalent form.

At the same time that the basic theoretical tools are provided for the understanding of the behavior of capitalist commodities, those same tools do not allow for the expression of individuality or uniqueness within those commodities. In an artistic sense, this is a critically important component that is missing. At the same time that the capitalist system demands that all commodities be perceived as basically equivalent, the use-value of artistic commodities (and, it could be argued, all commodities) is rooted in the appeal to the consumers' sense of utility and, more importantly, individual desires. While I have emphasized this particular difficulty in the commodity sphere, Afanasyev *et al.* (1974:33) suggest that:

...in commodity production, based on private ownership of the means of production, the labor of producers is, in fact, *private labor*. The social character of private labor is concealed, and it only reveals itself in the market, when commodities are exchanged:....Thus the social division of labor makes labor social, while the private ownership of the means of production makes it directly private. These two properties of labor are deeply contradictory. The contradiction between the social and private character of labor is the *basic contradiction of commodity production*... [original italics].

In other words, the primary difficulty with cultural products within capital is that the private labour (Marx's concrete labour) of the artist/creator is obscured by the homogenizing power of the market. Within the market all of private labour is measured in social labour (Marx's abstract labour). Thus the solution to the problem of acknowledging

private labour in the face of social labour is to somehow put some degree of separation between artistic production and the homogenizing power of capitalist markets. One way to explore this separation and to better account for the uniqueness and value of artistic labour is to use the concept of articulation.

Production, Modes Of Production And Articulation

This concluding section highlights the final and most important feature of the relationship between Folkways and capital. It is with the tools of articulation outlined below that the rest of the theoretical arsenal can be brought to bear on the evaluation and analysis of this relationship. Questions about who produces and how they produce must be considered within the wider set of relationships that couch a mode of production, particularly within the very heart of capitalism.

Instead of examining the product (recording) and/or the manner in which the product is consumed, there is some theoretical justification to looking more closely at the position of Folkways within the productive universe. In other words, not only is the investigation of the exact conditions of organization and the positioning of Folkways with respect to its interrelationship with suppliers, distributors, etc. important, but close examination of Folkways' internal organization and mandate is also critical. This is an important point to consider given the fact that while the capitalist mode of production may be the *predominant* mode of production, it is not the *exclusive* mode of production. It may be far more helpful in the final analysis to consider Folkways as operating according to differing principles than is typical of a 'capitalist' enterprise. Nonetheless, Folkways operates within a larger capitalist network and thus is subsumed into capital and the larger music industry of which it is a part.

The question now becomes one of defining the various components necessary for an analysis of this type. The first of these difficulties arises from definitions of the 'mode of production'. Marx's definition concerning the constellation of forces of production and relations of production holds the middle ground. Friedman (1974:445), drawing directly from Marx, identifies the 'mode of production' as the constellation of relations that make up the 'infrastructure' of a social formation. The mode of production, then, contains the relations of production and the forces of production (further divided into means of

production and organization of production) that operate together to motivate the production and reproduction of the social formation.[15]

Wolpe (1980:36) goes further to distinguish between the restricted and the extended concepts of the mode of production, both concepts embodying the common components of the relations of production and the forces of production as Marx had outlined them. What differentiates the two concepts is that the extended concept includes the 'laws of motion', or the mechanisms of reproduction of the mode of production, while the restricted mode of production does not. This distinction is an important one in that the restricted concept is useful for creating a clear, bounded description of a particular set of productive forces and productive relations.[16]

Laclau (1971)[17] has also proposed a definition of mode of production that is similar, but more directed compared to Marx and Wolpe. As summarized in Scott (1976:322), Laclau sees a mode of production as 'consisting of four logical and mutually coordinated elements':

1. A determinate type of ownership of the means of production.
2. A determinate form of appropriation of the economic surplus.
3. A determinate degree of development of the division of labour.
4. A determinate level of development of the productive forces.

For my purposes, a synthesis of something that resembles Wolpe's restricted mode of production (given that the analysis of Folkways is contained to one generation) with specific reference to the four points presented by Laclau will be most productive. Unfortunately, the issues that each of the four points raise will necessarily be managed in a rather fluid manner. As Scott (1976:322) has noted, Marx, Wolpe and Laclau seem to suffer from a chronic lack of specificity concerning the meaning of each of the elements within their definitions. In any event, these definitions will provide an important touchstone to ground at least the basic elements of the analysis.

The concept of articulation has a short but important history in socio-economic analysis, but has fared little better than mode of production with respect to clarity of definition. Articulation was first identified early in this century based on its function, even though it had not yet appeared as a fully-formed concept. Both Rosa Luxembourg and V. I. Lenin wrote about the importance of capital creating exchange relations with 'pre-

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[15] Friedman does express elsewhere (1972) the degree of flexibility in the interrelationships between the various elements of both the mode of production and the infrastructure and superstructure that were discussed previously.

[16] See also Asch (1979) for an excellent review and discussion of this topic.

[17] Similar themes are also developed in Laclau (1985).

capitalist modes of production' or those modes 'outside the capitalist mode of production' (Scott 1976:323). Articulation then began to emerge as a distinct analytical concept out of the rich mix of ideas that were circulating throughout the French academies in the 1960s. The interaction of theories of structure in anthropology through Levi-Strauss and the Althusserian emphasis on structure in Marxism, led to questions about how these structures interact, or articulate with one another (Copans and Seddon 1978).

What is distinctive about this early form of structural articulation is that it was contained within one mode of production (implicitly capitalism), based on the assumption of a single productive totality. This particular line of inquiry has led to a number of interesting works being done, especially as it has culminated in the cultural studies movement in Britain and concerns with hegemony and dominance. As Slack (1996:112) suggests, "articulation is a way of foregrounding the structure and play of power that entail in relations of dominance and subordination."[18]

Actually defining articulation, however, has continued to be very difficult. Two authors come close to identifying the type of interrelationships that seem to typify articulation as it is used throughout the literature. Wolpe (1980:41) suggests articulation "refers to the relationship between the reproduction of the capitalist economy on the one hand and the reproduction of productive units organised according to pre-capitalist relations and forces of production on the other."[19] What Wolpe is suggesting here is the integration, but not the complete assimilation of one mode of production into the CMP with which it articulates.

Scott (1976:322), following Laclau's formulation, suggests that "By articulation of modes of production, I mean the relationship of two or more modes of production being joined together as elements in a structure in such a way that the whole is itself defined by the relationships obtaining between the elements." This position also allows for a much more complementary relationship between capital and the non-capitalist mode, without emphasizing the role of a subordinate partner. However, both definitions point to the importance of identifying different sets of organizing principles between the modes. This is a critical component, because, as will be seen in the analysis, the notion of small 'i'

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[18] See also other works in the same volume concerning articulation used in this way.

[19] Note that Wolpe uses the term 'pre-capitalist' as opposed to 'non-capitalist'. Throughout this work, unless used for specific purposes, I will use the term 'non-capitalist' to identify those general modes of production that are distinguishable from a capitalist mode of production. The use of the term 'pre-capitalist' suggests an evolutionary relationship with capitalism that may not be appropriate.

ideology[20] as an organizing principle may play an important part in the ultimate success of the analysis.

An intriguing feature of the discussions concerning articulation is the peculiar role of capital. In the first instance, capital appears always to be present as one partner in the articulation relationship. It is unclear precisely what the reasons are for this. It appears as though capital may be the only mode of production in history that cannot exist based on its internal logic alone. Thus capital must form some type of relationship with outside modes in order to continue to grow. Secondly, it appears that although there is ample evidence of non-capitalist modes of production operating in hand with capital throughout the world, it is nonetheless left to the CMP to 'make the rules' (Bettelheim, in Wolpe 1980:15-16). In other words, capitalism sets the operating principles for a variety of economies, establishing the standard with which non-capitalist modes of production must comply in order to expand beyond their own extant sets of relations of production.

Therefore, any analysis or examination of alternative modes of production is necessarily going to be tempered by the overarching organizing principles of the capitalist social formation. What is most interesting about this conclusion is that it falls right into the critique that Baudrillard (1975) presents of Marx in *The Mirror of Production*. Namely, that even when Marx attempts to critique political economy, the language used represents language constructed from a capitalist political economy. This reinforces the importance of including Bourdieu and Baurdillard as at least a preliminary attempt at getting around the predominance of capitalist discourse. Though Marx ultimately triumphs despite Baudrillard's critique, it nonetheless presents an important methodological challenge.

A corollary to the notion of 'capital's rules' is whether capital forces involuntary structural changes within the non-capitalist mode of production in order to more effectively articulate with the CMP. There is a strong suggestion that it is not necessarily true. To the extent that a group is already self-sufficient within its own mode, the assumption that capital can then dominate that group simply on the basis of its own internal principles is unsupportable. It is impossible for capital to gain a foothold in a separate mode without some direction from within that mode. One of the errors that is commonly made is the assumption that capital is indisputably dominant based on the fact that other modes have already been subsumed within it. This excludes any discussion of modes that operate at

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[20] I use this specifically to remove it from the overdetermining structural type of ideology often associated with Althusser (1992). The small 'i' indicates a more localized and personalized lived belief system that organizes daily decision-making.

arm's length and according to non-capitalist principles (see Cashdan 1989[21] and Peterson 1978 for a discussion of an example involving the Mbuti Pygmies).

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Within the social and economic constellations that surround Folkways and its operations, I suspect that certain non-economic factors are at least as important as economic factors in directing the conditions of articulation. The importance of concepts outside of rational economizing will be shown throughout this work. In particular, Moe had very strong ideas concerning morality, honor, and justice.[22] Many of these beliefs (part of his small 'i' ideology) structured both the goals of Folkways and the catalog, as well as the means Moe used to achieve those goals. Attempts to give these principles the analytical strength they deserve is what has supported the emphasis on a substantive approach and on understanding Folkways as a formation operating beyond capital.

This theory chapter serves as the foundation on which further explorations into Folkways will be built in Chapter 9. The ultimate goal is to set the groundwork to demonstrate that Folkways does have a place of its own - and deserves a place of its own - within the larger music industry. If this can be demonstrated - and I believe it can - then it will open the door for more accountable analyses of a variety of artistic productive formations (other music companies, as well as other artistic enterprises: sculpture, painting, literature, etc.). It is clear that pure capital does not adequately account for many of the features that make the creative arts what they are. The ideas here will form the basis on which we can come a little closer to that accounting.

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[21] These themes, and a number of other related economic issues concerning tribal and peasant economies are discussed throughout Cashdan (1990).

[22] Hatch (1989) supports the importance of understanding these extra-economic factors when attempting to identify decision-making factors.

CHAPTER 3

OBJECT AND METHOD

The importance of setting forth a clear definition of the object that is being studied and the manner that it will be studied is well established. This chapter will brief discuss each of these issues to firmly ground the data and analysis that will follow. The first section will discuss the nature of the object - Folkways as an independent record company - and set forth some criteria that might be used to better outline the features of such a company. The second section concerns the details of the methodology used to: 1) apply the theoretical assumptions to the data; 2) collecting the data for analysis, particularly the documentary material; and 3) the manner in which the data has been organized and presented throughout this work.

THE OBJECT

Though the object of this analysis - Folkways Records - certainly seems to be obvious, it would nonetheless be useful to expand on the concept of an 'independent record company'. Denisoff's (1986:87) workaday definition of such organizations as "generally smaller in size, have to depend on others for the pressing of records, national distribution, and at times marketing" is perfectly acceptable. Certainly the degree of perceived independence of a company will vary depending on the role of the person offering the opinion.

It is more germaine to the understanding of Folkways, however, if a more developed definition is considered. As Peterson (cited in Gray 1988:9-10) suggests, an independent record company

> is derived from a number of elements: the structural location of the company in the popular music industry; reliance on a network of independent record distributors and wholesalers to disseminate and market its products; a set of ideological values that guide the company's aesthetic direction and define its identity and organizational character; and the size of the company and the resources it has available to meet the demands it faces.

Combined with Denisoff's definition, the answers to the features highlighted by Peterson clearly lead one to call Folkways an independent. However, there is one other set of criteria that I believe are highly useful. Focusing on the conflict between the creative process and the commodification demanded by the industry, Gray (1988:10-12) suggests that there are three types of independent record producers distinguished largely based on

intent of the entrepreneur and the relationship between the company's product and the market. The three types of independent record producer can be summarized as:

1. *Structural* This type is characterized by the company's search for large commercial markets where the production of music is primarily for the generation of profit. The music itself tends not to be 'innovative' or new, and tends to be produced by an organization built up as a bureaucratic social organization with hierarchical decision-making processes.[1]

2. *Ideological* Profit is seen as necessary for operation of the company, but secondary to the commitment to the artistic integrity of the product. The productive environment is focused on support for the artists and their music. The products tend to be highly innovative and the organization of the company tends to be highly informal. Unfortunately, the companies with the 'strongest and most explicit ideological identities tend to be those that are most economically marginal and unstable' and tend to remain economically marginal to majors and structural independents (Gray 1988:12-13).

3. *Mixed* As this label suggests, this type of producer represents a combination of the two types listed above. This type of company recognizes the importance of maintaining distribution and marketing resources to increase financial stability, but there is also a commitment to a strong aesthetic position and to maintaining innovation.

Although Gray has drawn these particular categories from jazz, they are easily applicable to virtually any type of cultural production. It is also important to note that, as Gray suggests, the greater an independent's commitment to the ideological and the innovative, the greater the marginality and financial risks.[2]

A final, amusing categorization of the record industry comes from Marcus Breen (1992:40). In his discussion of the recording industry in Australia he uses indigenous birds to mark the various categories: lyrebirds for 'reproducing sounds to perfection', magpies for their 'skill at finding and collecting objects' and emus who 'can run but they can't fly'. More specifically, the arrangement goes like this:

> The lyrebirds then are like the major record companies, historically committed to reproducing for Australia the albums from overseas that their parent companies have created....Magpies are the offspring of the major companies. They are the specialist labels for Australian artists that exist primarily to satisfy regulations aimed at producing Australian music for Australians through the radio music quota....The poor emu, neck stretched in anguish in a pathetic attempt to utter a coherent call, is the truly indigenous recording industry, struggling against nature and history to co-exist with the lyrebird and the magpie, thwarted on every side by its ugly and ungainly character, yet committed to being a player in a game it cannot win. It will never fly, but it can and will run.

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[1] A good example of this type is Gennett Records c.1930s. Kennedy (1994:38) states, "The company pressed [Ku Klux] Klan records simply because it was a guaranteed cash business."

[2] This is not to suggest, of course, that the search for profit is not also fraught with risk (see Mabry 1990).

Perhaps Breen would appreciate the irony, then, of Folkways having released # 6116: *The Lyrebird: A Documentary Study of its Song*.

Method

As I will demonstrate with the presentation of data on Folkways, the previous theoretical positions of Bourdieu, Baudrillard and issues surrounding articulation and production will play an important role in accounting for some of the unusual characteristics of Folkways. In particular, the two main points to be considered are, first, the apparent dismissal of 'standard' business practice by Moses Asch in both the mandate and daily operation of Folkways; and second, the manner in which Asch was able to express counter-hegemonic political positions critical of a variety of popular views with relative immunity.

I will account for this perception of Moe Asch and Folkways through a careful examination of business practices that reveal that Moe did have more awareness of business practice than may be immediately evident. However, the longevity of Folkways is a little more difficult to account for. I would suggest that much of Folkways' longevity can be credited to the very narrow position that Folkways was able to maintain between following accepted capitalist business practices, and being able to take advantage of the benefits accorded those operating outside the limitations of capital.

In this respect, Asch was also able to take advantage of the inability of large, more mainstream music companies to react quickly to small niche opportunities. For example, Asch was able to exploit particular music niches which were not compatible with mainstream capital (either too controversial politically, or not commercially viable). An argument can also be made regarding Asch's use of academic work and recordings from around the world to expand his labour pool. In this way, he was able to use the capitalist model of expansion to exploit cheaper labour.

In the next few chapters, I will demonstrate that Folkways did, indeed, occupy a unique and somewhat privileged position within capital and within the music industry. In this manner I will, at least in part, account for both the longevity of Folkways, and the unsurpassed breadth and depth of the music that it produced.

Data Collection

The final items that must be addressed are the details of the data collection and interpretation used throughout the work. Firstly, the overwhelming majority of data for this work has come from documentary sources of two types: published and archival. The published materials are to a great extent popular items that range from informal and semi-

formal interviews with Moe Asch found in various publications to newspaper accounts of events that directly or indirectly concerned Folkways Records. The use of these published sources is standard and thus does not warrant any special attention except on a piece by piece basis.

The use of the archival materials, however, raised a number of issues that must be addressed. On the acquisition of Folkways Records by the Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural History (Folklife Center) at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC., the accumulated papers of the company, as well as an assortment of personal papers, were also acquired. Along with the recordings and other musically-related material, these other documents - letters, business notes, inventory sheets, expenses claims, phone messages, invoices, accounting books, as a small sampling - help to draw a picture of the business life of the company. These documents detail the minutiae of the business relationships that were initiated, developed, and sometimes terminated throughout the life of the company. It has been a long time since the people who were central to the daily operations of Folkways were involved. As a result, it is simply not feasible to expect anyone to recall the dates, places, or numbers that might be part of Folkways' life. In this respect, the archival documentation represents something like Folkways' memory, providing a record of the development of the company.

This is the value of focusing on the documentary evidence. The picture presented by these documents will be a long way from the complete story, if such a story can ever be told. It will be, however, a story that has not yet been told. No one has interrogated these documents in this way before. Perhaps more importantly, however, no one has considered any record company in this way before.

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The most serious factor in the collecting of information from the Archive was the time constraint under which I was forced to work. I was able to visit Washington DC. under a Smithsonian Institution Pre-Doctoral Research Fellowship that was endorsed by the Folkways Archive. The time constraints of the fellowship, however, only permitted me three months of residency to collect information. The generosity of the Archives and the Folklife Center with respect to photocopying documents and permitting examination of these copies outside of the Archive allowed me to collect information much more expediently and was enormously helpful. Still, I was faced with the reality that I would be unable to examine all of the documentation under the allowed time.

In the course of an initial examination of the Archives during a very brief visit in 1995, it became clear that some early efforts at broadly organizing the documents in the Archive had taken place. Specifically, the documents had been roughly divided between

business correspondence and personal correspondence with various artists and other individuals related with Folkways. Leaning quite heavily on the theoretical orientation of my research, I directed much of my energy on the business documentation with a relative amount of confidence (based on the initial 1995 visit) that the personal correspondence would not contain much of the broad economic information that I required.

I was, and still am, keenly aware and highly respectful of the experience and knowledge of the Curator of the Archive and Director of Smithsonian Folkways Records, Dr. Anthony Seeger, Head Archivist Jeff Place, and Assistant Archivist Stephanie Smith. They were most helpful in directing me to certain areas of the Archive for information, as well as other types of documents that were not immediately evident in the storage area (log books stored in specific boxes in the Archive for example). Thus the constellation of input from my own initial orientation to the Archive, the general experience of the Archive staff, as well as their assistance with specific questions during my research, all helped in focusing my investigation into the specific, relevant areas of the Archive. I must say here that I am confident that the information that I did gather is largely and consistently representative of the larger picture of the events that are discussed in this work.

This having been said, the difficulties in handling documentation of this type are numerous. The first and most limiting factor has been the small amount of documentation actually available in the Archive.[3] Through the normal daily activity of Folkways through the years, certain types of documents would have been lost - time-sensitive letters that might not have the appearance of importance after a specified date, office memos, draft and/or final copies of different press releases, reviews, advertising copy and the like. There were at least three or four major office moves that Folkways underwent in the course of its life prior to the Smithsonian, with it being entirely probable that a variety of papers would have been discarded prior to each move as part of the consolidation process. A certain amount of culling of the documents also occurred prior to the acquisition of the collection by the Smithsonian. In fact, at the time of my investigation, there was not enough space to hold all of the documentation in one place, with a certain amount of the collection having to be held in storage due to space limitations within the Smithsonian itself. Needless to say, there has been considerable pressure to limit the assortment of documents from their inception to being housed in the Archive.

The next issue that had to be addressed was the level of completeness of the documentation that is held in the Archive. Through a number of the forces discussed

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[3] Of course, 'small' in this case is relative to the amount of documentation that might at one time have existed for Folkways (and Asch and DISC Records as well). Compared to similar types of projects, the Folkways Archive is an astonishingly rich collection of this type of information.

above, many documents have become damaged and/or had pages separated (not to mention the fragility that many of the documents have taken on as a result of their age). This created a problem with establishing the page order of some documents (production lists, some personal notes, letter drafts, for example) in which the pages had become separated. In these cases, I relied on a combination of proximity (whether the pages in question had been found in the same file or in separate cabinets), type style and general appearance (the kind of paper, whether it was an original or a carbon copy), and writing style (Moe has a distinctive way of phrasing his writing) to establish connections between documents and their authors.

Another problem was the prevalence of copies in the Archive. Much of the material saved during the operation of Moe's enterprises was saved as carbon copies of letters or as draft copies of material that was presumably for another purpose. As a result, often letters will not have been signed, or authorship in general would be in question. In these cases, I again used context and content, or at the very least a contextual position in the organization as a means of establishing the authorship of a document. For example, I examine the content of the document to see whether it would indicate that Moe might have been the author, or someone within the organization, or indeed, someone outside the organization. In these instances in which there is any doubt concerning authority, I have made every attempt to ensure that such information was corroborated by other material.

The last point directly concerning my relationship with the documents is the question of authority and legitimacy. I have relied to a great extent on my own ability to validate the legitimacy of certain documents in connection with specific events or arrangements that Moe might have entered into. I have been inherently conservative in the conclusions that I have drawn from these connections and have been consistently skeptical about the 'truth' of many documents. I have allowed legal documents the most authority to corroborate certain topics given their legitimacy within the courts. In fact, many of these contracts are still valid and may themselves be evaluated in the future. The letters and other personal documents I have granted more flexibility in meaning and intent. If the text appears to contradict the larger sense of the document, then I have taken steps to take note of it in my discussion.

Finally, I have taken steps to let the texts speak on their own. When possible I have quoted the documents extensively to allow the reader at least some sense of the manner in which much of Moe's communication took place. In this way, I have also left the reader to come to their own conclusions in situations where it is simply impossible to draw a definitive conclusion. This is important as I believe it is necessary to provide the reader to some extent to be provided with enough information to both test my interpretation of events

and, if warranted, draw different conclusions than the ones I have endorsed. There has also been a secondary motivation in presenting larger portions of text or reproducing certain lists and documents in the appendices. Not all readers will be as fortunate as I have been in working with these materials first-hand. Thus, where a document might provide some additional information to the future reader/researcher, I have included it where appropriate. In this way, I can contribute to the growing interest in better understanding the development of independent recording companies.

Data Presentation

In the presentation of the data throughout this work, I will attempt to present the narrative aspects of the story of Folkways Records and the other concerns that Moe was involved in as continuous a manner as possible. The issues that such telling raises will be dealt with in an integrated manner, adding to the narrative and raising many of the issues that will be addressed in greater detail in the closing analyses. There is also a great deal of corroborating data that will be used. However, where the presentation of such data will interfere with the larger discussion, the exact details of the particular documentation will be placed in either a footnote or an appendix.

The vast majority of the documentation gathered at the Archive has not been previously accessioned in any way. As a result, I have assigned the materials that I have gathered with a two-part numerical reference code. In the text and appendices, such documents will be referred to with a code of the form (xx-yyy), where xx is the last two digits of the year (e.g. 52 for 1952) and yyy is a chronological reference number that indicates the position of the document relative to other documents in my possession of the same year. The higher the yyy number (e.g. 136) indicates that it is quite late in the series and therefore is very likely to be of a date late in the year. Conversely, the smaller the yyy number, the earlier in the given year is it likely to be.

Other documents have been assigned numbers series slightly different than those above. Catalogs used throughout this work, primarily in chapter 7, have been assigned a code in the form of 'C-###' and are listed in a separate listing ('C-coded documents') at the end of the work. Similarly, there is a set of documents that were not easily assimilated into the primary document listing. These documents, as well as other documents that are pertinent to the discussion, but are not easily categorized, have been assigned a code in the form of 'X-###' and are likewise listed in a separate listing ('X-coded documents') at the end of this work. Finally, interview citations are cited in the text according to the first two initials of the interviewee, followed by a number used only to differentiate between several interviews granted by the same person. For example, Larry Sockell is listed as LS-1. As

there was only one interview conducted with Mr. Sockell, 'LS-2' is not listed. Interviews referred to in the text are listed at the end of the volume.

Finally, in some cases the documents are undated, and therefore are only given a reference number in relation to other documents. In some cases, the year of the document is also in question. Where this is the case, it has been given a reference number that represents the date of the document to my best information. In such cases, details about the documents, as for all documents, will be given in the Document List at the end of this work.

Those who know of Folkways' history may well find errors in this work. Though every effort has been made to double-check references or inferences presented in many of the documents, there is little question that much of the 'truth' of Folkways was never put down on paper. As a result, much of the story of Folkways has entered into popular mythology and has come to stand on its own as truth, without corroborative evidence. In many cases, these documents do provide at least some evidence to dispel some of the myths. Where it is possible for me to do so, I will point out these discrepancies. However, it will be the knowledgeable reader or the future researcher that will be better able to sort out fact from fiction.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORY PRIOR TO FOLKWAYS

The importance of the historical foundations of an enterprise are often taken for granted. However, this chapter will briefly discuss four areas that represent some of the more prominent technological and business developments that allowed Moe to create Folkways. The first section deals with the technological origins of recording. Though short, it helps to outline some of the attitudes that surrounded early recording as a cultural activity. The second section covers Moe's early days. From his birth in 1905 to his early electronics business, Moe seemed to be well equipped to tackle the challenges of Folkways.

The third and fourth sections deal with the trials and tribulations of Asch Records and DISC Records, respectively. Both enterprises met unfortunate ends, Asch Records through strangulation and DISC Records through bankruptcy. However, both were important learning experiences for Moe. The impact of these failures is ultimately seen in the success that Moe has with Folkways.

EARLY RECORDING

In 1877 Thomas Edison introduced a tin-foil cylinder that would capture, retain, and playback the sounds that were played to it. Called the phonograph, it represented a combination of scientific and economic potential and pure novelty. Edison had conceived of the phonograph more as a business machine (The Edison Dictaphone) than anything else and thus considered it as having little market potential. At that time Edison was also very involved in refining the electric light and thus did not spend a great deal of his energies on advancing the phonograph. However, Alexander Graham Bell, his brother C. A. Bell and C. S. Tainter appeared as competitors, forcing Edison to direct full attention to its further development. Improvements in the incision methods onto the cylinder and the composition of the cylinders themselves soon followed (Read and Welch, 1976:31). Despite the formation of the Edison Speaking Phonograph Company in 1878 to 'exploit the tremendous popular interest' surrounding a 'machine that could talk', it was Bell and his associates, as the Volta Graphophone Company some ten years later, who were 'directed towards exploiting [the graphophone/phonograph] for the reproduction of music' (Read and Welch, 1976:25, 37).

By the turn of the century a commercial war was brewing over supremacy in the phonograph market in the United States. In Europe the home consumption market for recordings was growing rapidly and needed to be fed with new products. On both sides of the Atlantic, scholars were recognizing the incredible tool the phonograph represented in terms of the ethnographic collection of music and oral histories. Nonetheless, commercial interests appeared to be dominating the recording market (Gronow 1983)as the cost of the machines and blank cylinders for recording were still prohibitive for many individuals. Support for collecting expeditions came primarily through either individual philanthropists, larger organizations that wished to acquire samples of a wide variety of musics, or the commercial music companies looking for musical novelties. After some technical modifications made recording easier, Read and Welch (1978:417) note that:

> Almost immediately, students of languages, tribal customs, and folk lore realized that here was an instrument of great value. Enthusiastically, leading universities and museums sent out recording expeditions to the heart of darkest Africa, to the wilds of the Amazon, and to reservations of vanishing Indian tribes of the South and West.

By the Interwar period recording technology had largely abandoned cylinders and had devoted much of its energy into developing disc recordings on shellac 78 rpm records. World War II marked a watershed for recording technology. During the war magnetic tape recording had been developed which would eventually play two important roles in the recording industry. First, as a re-recordable medium for creating master recordings, it became a much more economical alternative to discs for recording in the studios. Second, it set the foundation for the later development of the reel-to-reel, 8-track and cassette technologies we are familiar with now. However, during the immediately post-W.W.II period, the tape technology was not in common usage. The original method of recording, using a stylus to cut grooves into a substrate that was used to produce copies was still used to cut 78s. Then came the debate over the speed of the records. In 1948 Columbia introduced the 33 1/3 rpm LP record, fighting it out with the 45 rpm record of RCA. As Asch said of the LP: "We were very happy with the long playing record. After all, we had been constricted in trying to get folk ballads on record in under three minutes. With the 33, we could do longer narratives" (in Kenton nd:10). This was the technological base that supported Folkways Records.

Moe's Early Days

On 2 December 1905, Matilda Asch and eminent Jewish writer Sholem Asch brought Moses Asch into the world. Moses entered the family as the second-oldest of siblings Nathan, John, and Ruth, and was immediately surrounded by the great challenges of early twentieth-century Europe. Sholem's success and subsequent wanderlust, combined with

the political ferment of revolutionary Russia and W.W.I, exposed the Asch children to a wide variety of intellectual and political pressures. The traveling of the family throughout Eastern and Western Europe and eventually the United States undoubtedly provided Moe with an understanding of world events and of people that could not help but shape the decisions that he later made throughout his business and personal life.[1]

However, this work is not intended to trace Moe's personal life and development., There are, nonetheless, certain influences that Moe himself recounts as being central to his efforts to develop Folkways in the manner that he did. Indeed, two events are most often singled out as being pivotal in the formation of Moe's consciousness of what Folkways might - and should - become. The first was Moe's 'discovery' of American cultures (quoted in Young 1977:3):

> Whenever he [Sholem Asch] would travel West, he would pick up books about cowboys and these books would usually start off with a song text or a poem. It wasn't meaningful at first but one day in 1923 I was on vacation from school on the Quay on the Left Bank [Paris] browsing through books, I came across a first edition of John Lomax's *Cowboy Songs* that had an introduction by Teddy Roosevelt which guided me through life because he said that folklore and songs are the cultural expression of a people. So here I had these books and was able to show that we had this kind of uniqueness to our culture which was not just a melting pot, but were part of a whole bunch of other things. All these things stayed in the back of my mind.

The second aspect of Moe's background was his knowledge of electronics. As a teenager he studied electronics in Germany in the mid-1920s. Returning to the US he worked first for Lee De Forest (the 'father of radio'), then for RCA . After working through other factory jobs, he began his own electronics company, Radio Laboratories building custom recording and amplification equipment. He also became the Eastern repair representative for Stromberg-Carlson radios - the 'Rolls-Royce of radios'. This gave him an important introduction to electronics retailing, as well as distribution access to record dealers across the East Coast, retailers that were traditionally dominated by the three major companies - Columbia, Decca, and RCA (Young 1977; Kenton nd.). He would later use these contacts to distribute his early recordings.[2] His work through Radio Laboratories[3] also gave Moe expertise in the operation of PA systems, and more importantly, microphones and recording technology.

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1 I defer to Goldsmith (1998) in the recounting of Moe's family history and early influences.

2 After the WWII, anti-trust legislation helped break up monopolies held by the majors and allowed greater distribution of independent product.

3 Moe leased space for Radio Laboratories from the Forward Association at room 304, 117-119 West 46th Street, NYC. The lease ran from 1 July 1938 to 30 June 1939 for $50 per month (38-002). The business certificate for Radio Laboratories was filed on 23 May 1938 with the names of Moe Asch and Harry Mearns as the persons conducting business as Radio Laboratories (38-001).

In the late 1930s, Radio Laboratories seemed to be doing well. Moe's work constructing and installing new radio broadcasting equipment in the WEVD Building in Manhattan left the radio station in the quandary of having equipment, but nothing to play. WEVD Radio featured programming directed to the growing immigrant population of New York City, and in particular the Jewish population,. At the same time (1938-39) Columbia Records stopped producing Jewish recordings. Responding to a request by WEVD, Moe took advantage of the opening in the market and began his recording career by producing The Bagelman Sisters[4] and a recording of *Kol Nidre*. On 15 April 1940, less than two years after he registered Radio Laboratories in 1938, Moe filed the business certificate for Asch Recording Studios doing business at 117 West 46th street, NYC (40-001).

One of the earliest examples of Moe's recording contracts dates about a year later in November 1941. A pair of contracts[5] show two provisions that I believe set the pattern for much of the way Moe did business, and shared risk, for the rest of his career. The first provision is set forth at the beginning and end of the contract. At the beginning Moe establishes "that [the artist] received full compensation for all work in the recording of [a number of] records for the Asch Recording Studios", and ends with the statement that "In no way is the Asch Recording Studios obligated to me [the signee] for any compensation in the sale of these records." These statements clearly reflect what I see to be Moe's preference for completed deals, rather than ongoing royalty arrangements.

The second provision acknowledged that Moe was respectful of the current union agreements that were in place. Directed specifically to American Federation of Musicians members, a portion of the contract noted in quotations: "As the musicians engaged under the stipulations of this contract are members of the American Federation of Musicians, nothing in this contract shall ever be construed as to interfere with any obligation which they owe to the American Federation of Musicians as members thereof."[6]

By 1942 Moe's letterhead for Asch Recordings was starting to reflect the range of business that he conducted. In addition to the recordings he was making prior to 1942, it

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[4] They later had minor success as The Barry Sisters.

[5] Both dated 10 November 1941, one contract was for the recording of the Russian National Anthem by six musicians, one of whom was Julian Breem (signed J. Breem)(41-002). The other contract appears to indicate that Sonny Terry was compensated for recording *John Henry*, *Good Morning Blues*, *On a Holiday*, *Ain't You Glad*, and *How Long*. The bottom signature is by Huddie Leadbetter (Leadbelly) who witnessed the marking by Sonny Terry (41-003). In a second contract (43-002.5) Sonny Terry 'agree[s] to fully release the five recordings made accompanying Lead Belly in the session at the Asch Studio, July 31, 1942." The contract is dated 6 July 1943 and has an 'X' as Sonny Terry's mark and witnessed by Ellen Spencer of Ellen Spencer Productions. Terry was paid $50 for the session in question. The songs were not listed.

[6] It has been suggested that this provision was initiated by the AFM for inclusion in all non-standard AFM contracts.

was now explicit that he was performing duties as a transcription service[7] as well as becoming 'manufacturers of foreign language, folk music and classical records' (42-002).

Perhaps most telling is a letter that Moe wrote to his pressing plant - Scranton Record Co.[8] - on 18 March 1943 (43-002.2). In it he clearly wants to avoid the impression of being absorbed into another organization, as well as explicitly identifying the market direction he intends to take. In part it reads:

> For the past 3 years the Asch Recording Studios has worked as an independent organization and we want to maintain that status even though we may from time to time change our distributorship set up. Our records are in demand throughout this country, in Canada and South America. Our present contacts in all parts of the world should materialize into big things after the war since we are the only manufacturers of Jewish records.
>
> We want to maintain a listing in your books in our name - Asch Recordings which would not conflict with any agreements that we have now. In this way we hope to re-establish the basis for good will between us for years to come.

The tone of the letter would almost appear as though there had been some kind of prior difficulty between Scranton Record Co. and Asch Recordings. The most obvious difficulty would seem to be payment of accounts. A letter of 21 June 1943 (43-002.4) suggests that a previous policy of allowing companies to use masters owned by Scranton often led to some companies not paying copyright and royalty payments back to Scranton arising from the loan. Perhaps this would account for money difficulties and thus account for the loan that Asch received from Prosky and Harris, as well as the reference to the change in distributorship, as by this point Asch Records were being distributed through the Stinson Trading Co.

The tone of the 18 March letter may or may not also be related to the shellac shortage. A response to Moe on 22 March from John Griffin of the Scranton Record Co. general sales office bears this out (43-002.3):

> I am preparing the order along the lines of your letter of March 18 with the anticipation that it will be accepted at Scranton. As you know, all our customers are on a quota basis and at the present time our complete production is allocated. However, it should be possible for us to work in an additional 1121 records at some time, but our ability to make these records is no guarantee of our ability to make larger quantities at a future date.
>
> Incidentally, have you anything in mind about furnishing us with some scrap for which we will, or course, pay at the regular rate?[9]

---

[7] On 20 November 1942, he signed a letter contract to provide one master and 25 copies of 'Song of the Parachute Troops' for a Charlotte McDonald of Brooklyn, NY. at a price of $25 for the master and $15 for the copies.

[8] Shortly after this date, Scranton became Capitol Records Inc. This change is also noted in the text to reduce confusion.

[9] In some respects, Moe's entrance into the recording business was timed badly. In the middle of the Second World War, shellac used to make records was in short supply. The Asian sources of the material were caught in the political and military conflicts throughout south-east Asia. As a result, shellac was rationed in the

A further difficulty that arose in the relationship between Scranton and Asch (as well as all its other customers) was the introduction of a manufacturer's excise tax. In a letter dated 21 June 1943 (43-002.4), John Griffin of Scranton notes that "Under a ruling issued by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue we have been held responsible for the payment of excise taxes on all records made from masters of which we are the owners." However, Scranton also had problems where "in some instances claims have been filed against us for the payment of copyright royalties and artist royalties" after loaning masters to other companies. This prompted a formal contract between Scranton and all its customers (Asch's is dated 29 September 1943) (43-002.6; 43-002.7) that clearly explains that:

> Since our company is merely the fabricator of your finished records we should not, of course, be directly concerned with such matters, but nevertheless in some instances claims have been filed against us by third parties in connection with copyright and royalty charges alleged to be due on masters we have accepted for processing. The purpose of the enclosed agreement is merely to indemnify us against the possibility of loss in these matters...

This particular problem may also have prompted the relationship between Scranton Record Co. and the Record Syndicate Trust of Massachusetts to sell off rights to the masters and mothers[10] that it owned. For $50 Moe purchased full rights for North and South America (the Trust retained world rights) to the *Wreck of the 97* from Scranton through the Trust (43-002.8), and was waiting to hear back on licenses for other Scranton mothers or masters (43-004).

Asch went ahead and took advantage of these contracts. One example dated 28 February 1944 (for the period 1 August 1943 to 31 July 1944) entitles Moe to use Scranton matrices US 67 - Lone County Bachelor and US 68 - Little Old Sod Shanty, for distribution in the United States (plus territories and possessions) and Canada only. The ultimate cost to Moe was to be 1.5% per side, or 3% if the two songs appeared on the same record, of the retail selling price of the recording (44-000.3) .[11]

United States. The rationing was based on the number of records each company pressed in the previous year of business. Unfortunately for Moe, in the previous year he had done little business at all leaving him in very short supply.

[10] Once a master was made, a series of mothers - negative images of the master, but the same as the positive image of the final recording - are made. The mothers are used to make stampers (negative images of the final recordings) that need to be replaced periodically as a result of wear.

[11] These may well have been the only masters Moe used under the agreement with Scranton. In a letter to Moe 16 August 1944 (44-006.1), "We [Scranton Record Company] do not believe... that it will be necessary to send to you a new contract covering the use of US masters. In dispensing with this agreement we do not feel that it will in any way alter the pleasant relationship we have had and sincerely hope that we may enjoy your continued business in the future."

Asch Records and Stinson Trading Co.

The shortage of shellac during World War II is probably the most commonly invoked reason for the beginning of the business arrangement between Moe and partners Herbert Harris and Irving Prosky (as Stinson Trading Co.). However, early documents seem to suggest that there was a previous relationship of some kind in place. The initial motivation for the relationship appears more likely to be that Asch was in tough financial straits (not surprising given the shellac shortage and other war-time difficulties) and that Irving Prosky and Herbert Harris agreed to bail him out with a combination of a loan and a job.

In early 1943 Moe's formal relationship with Prosky and Harris began. One of the first contracts between Moe Asch and Stinson (signed by Prosky) is essentially a sales commission contract. Dated 25 January 1943, the contract promises Moe a 15% commission for all new accounts that he brought to Stinson for the one year duration of the arrangement (43-001). Shortly after this arrangement was made, however, Prosky and Harris gave Asch a one thousand dollar interest-free loan. A tally list and 5 of the original 8 credit notes signed by Moe and made out to Prosky and Harris still exist in the archive, showing that the loan was to be paid back over eight months. Beginning on 27 May 1943 and due on the 27th of each month, the payments were graduated from $100 dollars for the first 2 months, $125 dollars for the next five months, and $175 for the last payment on 27 December 1943 (43-002).

Also from the beginning of 1943, most of Asch's sales were primarily from Jewish material he had recorded. What appear to be incomplete sales tally sheets (43-002.1) for November/December 1942 and possibly January 1943 show that the main material being sold was the Asch Records 'H' Series[12] (Table 4.1):

In a draft of what might have been a press release of some kind - written on Asch Recordings letterhead and dated to late 1943/early 1944 - outlines the background of Prosky and Harris and their association with Asch. The story begins with the participation of the Soviet Union in the 1939 World's Fair. To quote quite extensively (44-000.2):

> [Mr. Prosky] became the first exclusive American distributor of records made in the Soviet Union. During the next 2 years there were only 2 places in the East where these records were sold to the public. Mr. Herbert Harris who had concessions at the Stanley and Miami Theaters was the pioneer who sold these records directly to the people. It was therefore, inevitable that these 2 men should get together to form a company for the purpose of distributing records made in the U. S. S. R. throughout the country called Stinson Trading Company. This organization is now manufacturing thousands of records made in the Soviet Union to be sold through 12 distributors in the United States and to Canada and Mexico....

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[12] The title and artist omissions are a result of an incomplete catalog listing of all the recordings.

However, due to the war, the curtailment of records has made it imperative for this progressive company to associate with another progressive firm, the Asch Recording Studios, for a wider variety of social[ly] significant records....

TABLE 4.1

Sample of Asch Records 'H'-Series Recordings, 1942-43

Record Number	Title	Artist	Tally Number (Jan. 1943)
H6001	A Yidd Darf Gehen In Shul/ Al Tiro	Cantor Leibele Waldman	640
H6002	Eichu/ Es Kummen Gute Tzyten	Cantor Leibele Waldman	120
H6003	Wohin Sol Ick Gehen/ Zulaika	Menasha Oppenheim	550
H6004	Drei Techter/ Reisele	Menasha Oppenheim	1050
H6005	Lebedig und Freilach/ Erinerungen	Harry Lubin's Orchestra	140
H6006	Mein Shtetele Yaass/ Yiddish Red Sich Schoen	Max Klettner	40
H6007	Gesselach/ Der Ferliebter	Max Klettner	100
H6008	Der Badchn/ Reb Dovid'l	Saul Meisels	460
H6009	Hora: Mi Boneh Yerushalayim/ Katonu M'od	Saul Meisels	475
H6010	Kol Nidre/ Eli Eli	Cantor Leibele Waldman	–
H6011			–
H6012	Hatikvah/ Techezakna	Saul Meisels	60
H6013			–
H6014			250
H6015	Shirat Haemek/ Reitiha	M. Yardeini	180
H6016	Dos Schneider'l/ Nysym	Menasha Oppenheim	280
H6017	Fity Die Ritia/ Proshtchai Odessa	'Pesache' Burstein	60
H6018	Motl der Operator/ Mein Shtetele Moliff	Chaim Tauber	100
H6019			–

According to a later document (46-009), an agreement joining Asch Recordings and Stinson was executed on 27 January 1943 and thus marked the beginning of their formal relationship. This draft statement is consistent with the letter copy directed to Scranton Record Co. by Herbert Harris on 25 March 1944 (44-000.6) instructing them of the following:

You are hereby advised that an arrangement has been entered into with Asch Recording Studio, Moe Asch, Proprietor, for the transfer of all Masters heretofore recorded in the name of the S & P Phono Supply Co. and for which consideration the STINSON TRADING COMPANY will become the sole Distributor for the recordings of the Asch recording Studio.

It will be appreciated if beginning with April 1, 1944 you will bill all your invoices to the Asch Recording Studio 117 West 46th Street, while deliveries will be consigned to us at 27 Union Square, West. as heretofore.

Also in 1944 Moe picked up the distribution for Robert (Bob) Thiele's Signature Records.[13] A series of form letters (dated 20 July 1944 (44-005)) were sent to several dealers by Bob Thiele indicating that they do not handle the distribution of Signature Records and to contact Moe Asch at 117 W. 46th St. NYC. for distribution. Moe was already pushing the distribution of Asch and Stinson records into the mid-West by writing to the Mayflower Novelty Co. of St. Paul MN, informing them that distribution for those labels was still open in that area (44-002). At a distributor cost of 50% less 10%, the offer had the appearance of being a lucrative one.[14]

In a letter from Bob Thiele to Moe (44-006), there is the sense that part of the reason that Signature was turned over to Moe was because of the shellac rations and that Asch's association with Stinson gave him the resources to continue to produce Signature, Asch[15], and Stinson Records:

> I would appreciate it greatly if you would drop me a short note telling me just how many mothers have been taken from the Scranton Company and shipped to other outfits such as the company at Phillipsburgh....
>
> I am sure you understand why I want this information. I'd like to know, when the war finally does end, just where Signature plates are located throughout the country.
>
> Also, I hope you will commence to send invoices of the amount of records received from other companies than the Scranton Record Co. This information is needed to compile how much money must be paid to the government, music publishers and the American Federation of Musicians.

* * *

The start of 1945 was marked by the re-establishment of a purchase relationship between Asch Recordings and Scranton Record Co. In a contract with Scranton Record Co. and Record Syndicate Trust dated 24 January 1945 (45-000.2), Moe begins by reminding the parties that:

> Reference is made to our agreements dated November 5, 1943 and December 8, 1943 with Record Syndicate Trust and all other agreements or contracts...between ourselves and Record Syndicate Trust.
>
> In consideration of the acceptance by the Scranton Record Company of the enclosed order dated January 24, 1945 for four masters and four mothers, and subject to the fulfillment by you of that order, all obligations of the Scranton Record Company, if any, arising out of said agreements and contracts between ourselves and Record Syndicate Trust are hereby canceled and brought to an end.

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[13] In the appendix of Gene Bluestein's (1987) article on Moe Asch, an association between Thiele and Asch is listed as "Asch-Atlantic (with Bob Thiele), 1943-45". The only explanation might be that Signature Records was originally connected with Atlantic in some fashion, but I have never seen a reference to a connection between Asch and Atlantic in the 1940s.

[14] This was a standard distributor cost formula. It was likely presented in this manner for ease of calculation: divide in half and subtract a further ten percent.

[15] There is evidence that there was still an active recording schedule in place for Asch Recordings. See Appendix 1.

All obligations of Record Syndicate Trust to furnish to order for us any metal matrices, test pressings or records, if any, are also hereby canceled and brought to an end.

The enclosed purchase order (45-000.1[16]) includes one each of the following (Table 4.2):

TABLE 4.2

Masters Purchased from Scranton Record Co., January 1945

Former U.S. Masters $4 each	Former U.S. Mothers $3 each
#C-1813	#C-1813
#C-1506	#C-1506
#C-1503	#C-1503
#4	#4
#3	#3

About 8 months later on 16 August 1945, Moe put in another, larger order with Scranton for more masters (45-005.1) (Table 4.3):

TABLE 4.3

Masters Purchased from Scranton Record Co., August 1945

Title	Master Number	Title	Master Number
Mustang Grey	73-1	Sweet Betsy from Pike	79-1
Sam Hall	80-1	Jesse James	69-1
Buffalo Skinners	70-1	Black Outlaw Steer	US 74-1
Bald Faced Steer	US 63-1	Jack O' Diamonds	US 81-1
Joe Bowers	US 72-1	Arkansas Traveler	1823-2A
Bottle in My Hand	USG 13543-D1	Ten Thousand Years Ago	C1146
Old Joe Clark	1840-1-B	Tea for Two	1317-1
Pom Pom	1287-1	Blues	1316-1
Zonky	1319-1	Scratchin' the Gravel	1318-1
Harem Party	USE 859-D1	A Good Man is Hard to Find	US 1113-2
Traveling Blues	USC 16609-D1	I'm Long Gone	USC 16965-D1

The close of 1945 was marked by a purchase agreement between Asch, Prosky and Harris (45-009). In a contract copy the three signees, plus two attorneys, acknowledged the sale of 106 items (presumably most or all masters) by Moe Asch to Prosky and Harris (Stinson) for one dollar. Dated 22 December 1945 the agreement lays out the transferal of license of the items on the attached schedule.[17] Unfortunately, the actual list does not

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[16] There are five of each list on the purchase order. It is unclear the reason for the apparent discrepancy between the letter and the order list.

[17] According to 46-003.1, the 3 December and 22 December agreements restricted the licence to 15 months. This must have been made explicit in the first agreement, as this provision is not in the second agreement.

appear to have survived, leaving much speculation about the truth of ownership of many masters pressed during and after this period.

While there is great confusion to this day about the rightful ownership of many of the masters involved in this and several other transactions, it is apparent that confusion reigned even shortly after the agreement was signed. A letter from T. L. Allen at Scranton Record Co. to Moe dated 1 February 1946 (46-002.2), points out that

> Recently you sold to Stinson Trading Co. a quantity of masters. From what we have received, it is pretty difficult for me to segregate the Stinson masters which you have sold from your own....
>
> Certainly we cannot segregate the masters based on the incomplete information which we have here and we do not want to be put in the position of finding ourselves in difficulty because of making records for Stinson from something that might be Asch or vice-versa.

A letter from attorney J. J. Corn further reinforces the difficulties that Moe was having with Prosky and Harris. Dated 13 August 1946 (46-003.1), the letter indicates that Moe was preparing an 'action against Stinson Trading Co., Irving Prosky, Herbert Harris and Stinson Trading Co., Inc.'. More importantly, the first item of inquiry on the list has Corn asking of Moe: "Were any more records unauthorizedly made from your masters than this list[18] (Table 4.4). Note the dates in the left hand column. It certainly appears as though some advantage was taken of the fact that Scranton Record Co. could not clearly distinguish ownership at this time (refer to letter by T. L. Allen above). In the meantime these records, which were likely pressed at Scranton, were pressed while Scranton was awaiting more information from Moe.

Meanwhile, Moe still had not contacted Scranton Record Co. (now referred to by its new name - Capitol Records, Inc). In an exchange with Mary Connerton at Capitol, Moe received a letter from her dated 18 September 1946 (46-005.1) that read in part:

> With reference to my letter to you [Moe] of August 23, 1946, I am still awaiting confirmation that all Asch and Stinson matrices - located at our factory - are the property of Stinson exclusively.
>
> Today I received a letter from Mr. Prosky who requests that all metal parts be forward to him. I am holding up this shipment, pending your response...
>
> Unless I receive your immediate response, I will assume that you are not interested in the question of ownership...

Two days later Moe replied (46-005.1):

> With reference to your letter of September 18, please be advised that we are still investigating this matter and we will have definite information for you next week.
>
> Kindly hold this in abeyance until you hear from us.

---

[18] This list reproduced here is as close to the original as possible in format.

TABLE 4.4

Asch 'H'-Series Masters Used by Stinson Without Permission

[Date][19]	[Master Number]	[Quantity]	[Total]
Feb. 5, 1946	H 6000	347	
	H 6001	352	
	H 6002	200	
	H 6004	200	
	H 6007	200	
	H 6009	325	
	H 6022	334	1,958
Feb. 6	H 6001	21	
	H 6002	169	
	H 6004	159	
	H 6007	187	
	H 6009	23	
	H 6021	345	904
Feb. 7	H 6003	277	
" 8	H 6003	66	343
" 8	H 6006	326	
	H 6005	200	
	H 6008	307	833
" 11	H 6008	41	
	H 6005	134	275
		Total	4,313

Whatever legal action might have been in the works through J. J. Corn and possibly other channels, it is clear that it was not moving forward at the pace that Capitol Records required. On 9 October 1946, nearly three weeks after the promise of the above letter, M. S. Hardy, the plant controller at Capitol, sent Moe the following letter (46-006.1):

We are extremely anxious to dispense with all metal parts belonging to former customers such as yourself. We find that repeatedly we have requested a list of the matrices belonging to you which are located at the Scranton Plant. We have received from time to time, in answer to our letters, various promises but to date, after a four month period, we still do not have the list. I understand that there is some question as to the ownership of certain parts which our records indicate belong to Stinson Recording. Stinson has acknowledged the ownership of some 700 odd metal parts; the question of ownership of a portion of this 700 parts has been brought up by your office. In order to alleviate our storage problem and to comply with Stinson's request for the return of the metal parts to them, it is imperative that we have a similar list from your office immediately...

...we are now insisting that your office give us the information we desire; otherwise, the responsibility of possession of the metal parts will no longer be ours as it is our intention to wash our hands of the whole affair. As a matter of fact, we have a signed release for all parts belonging to Stinson Company; therefore, any miscellaneous disputes and assignments as to the ownership should be handled directly with Mr. Prosky of Stinson.

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[19] The square brackets indicate that the headings were not included on the original document.

Though he may have failed to let Capitol know about the arrangements, legal proceedings were underway at this time. By 7 January 1947 a stipulation of agreement was signed by the lawyers of Moe Asch (plaintiff) and Irving Prosky and Herbert Harris, doing business as Stinson Trading Co. and Stinson Trading Company, Inc. (47-002.1). As this is a historically important agreement, the terms of the agreement relating specifically to recordings will be briefly summarized:

1) Defendant delivers to plaintiff on signing of agreement: 125 albums of #453 and 155 albums of #345.

2) Defendant delivers to plaintiff on or before 10 February 1947, $600 dollars worth of albums #353, 358, 355, 356, 357, 315, and not more than 150 of records from the 'H' series.

3) Defendant delivers to plaintiff on or before 14 March 1947, six masters ('masters' includes mothers, stampers and all metal parts/accessories) of #360; eight masters of #455; six masters of #554; six masters of #SP 101; eight masters of #454.

4) Plaintiff agrees to purchase from defendants on or before 1 September 1947 all complete sets of albums as follows;
   a) #360 at 75 cents per album and 25 cents per record, not exceeding 500 albums and 500 records (total of 2000 records), and agreed that the plaintiff 'may press the records contained in said album immediately upon the purchase of these records.'
   b) Same as a) for #455 except with an additional 500 records.
   c) #554 at $1.00 per album and 25 cents per single record with terms the same as in a) above.
   d) #SP 101 at $1.25 per album not exceeding 200 albums and 25 cents per single record, not exceeding 200 records, with terms the same in a) above.
   e) #454 at $1.50 per album not exceeding 200 albums and 25 cents per record not exceeding 200 records, with terms the same as a) above.
   f) In regard to the above albums and records, the plaintiff may pay an additional 2 cents per record in lieu of all royalties.

8) It is understood that records designated H 6000, H 6001, H 6002, H 6003, H 6005, H 6006, H 6007, H 6008, H 6009, H 6021 and H 6022 'are the exclusive property of the plaintiff and the defendants agree that they will not press or cause to be pressed through any agency whatsoever any of said records'.

9) H 6004 is the exclusive property of the defendants with the same provisions as in 8).

10) Defendants agree on or after 3 March 1947 will not directly or indirectly use the name "Asch" or trade names "Asch Records" or "Asch Records-Stinson".... Both plaintiff and defendant and assignees 'each have the irrevocable right, without any limitation as to time, place or manner, to use the design consisting of a weather cock turkey, with clasped hands'.

11) After 3 March 1947, the approximately 10 000 albums the defendants have in stock bearing the name 'Asch', shall be covered up with a sticker prior to sale.

Despite the appearance of a clear-cut termination of the Asch / Stinson arrangement, there has continued to be confusion over ownership and control of many of the recordings. These difficulties with Asch Records may have been part of the impetus to form DISC Corporation of America in late 1945. This would have allowed Moe both a change of

emphasis in material - from being known for predominantly Jewish records to focusing on jazz with Norman Granz through DISC. More importantly, however, is that it also would have removed Moe from any obligations - legal or otherwise - arising from the relationship between Asch and Stinson. It is not surprising to think that Moe would not want to put any new masters at risk of being lost to Stinson.

DISC Records of America

The first months of 1946 were also occupied with the promotion of DISC Company of America. One would think that examining contemporaneous documents would reduce much of the difficulty in trying to reconstruct what might have been happening at this time. Unfortunately, it was likely these contemporary documents that fueled much of the confusion.

Moe clearly worked very hard at trying to promote DISC.[20] Among the surviving documents, it seems DISC was the only one of Moe's many companies that had a regular and extensive series of promotional bulletins, with well over 40 released in only a few years. What was likely the first of these bulletins was released on 20 August 1946 (46-004). Marked for immediate release, it was done on DISC letterhead and contained "'D I S C quotes', NEWS CAPSULES for editors, TREND TIPS for record dealers, 'Disc 'n' dat' for everybody in music."

In this bulletin there are some interesting bits of information that set the tone for much of what comes later. First, the bulletin trumpets:

> DISC Company of America since its inception by Moe Asch in January, 1946, has shaped a record catalog comprising all phases of folkways, rare classics, documentary scope, children's music, and basic jazz. Across the DISC record workbench the folkways of the world, from backwoods to conservatory, are made into recordings of permanent value and immediate importance.[21]

Interesting, however, is the discrepancy in the founding date of DISC records. While the bulletin suggests it was January 1946, on 19 June 1945 one of the first references to DISC Company of America was made in a contract between DISC and Charlie Ventura - on DISC letterhead (45-004.1). This is further contradicted by the statement, shown later in this section, that DISC began in December 1945. The evidence

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[20] An interesting parallel to this is a receipt for a subscription to Romeike Press Clippings, presumably to watch for press activity. No search terms are indicated and it is the only evidence that he ever subscribed to such a service (45-003).

[21] The reference to folkways as a cultural component goes a long way to explain how Folkways Records came to be named.

would suggest that DISC was in the works for some time before that given the additional time needed to print stationary and other office paperwork.[22]

Nevertheless, what is instructive is Moe's 'mission statement' for DISC. Only in draft form, it clearly states what Moe envisioned for DISC and for his larger directions in the music industry. In separate paragraphs, Moe states:

With the end of the war and opening up of new sources of musical and documentary material it was felt that a new label was necessary to cover an enlarged recording program. The Disc label presents an expanded listing of music of all countries while continuing releases of American music with special attention to folkways.

Disc represents a catalogue that makes sense. Provacative and listenable records for a satisfying record library with ample variety for all tastes. Pre-school children, long-hairs, followers of musical Americana and the quest of musical means to spread world peace and understanding.

With the advent of Disc folk music became a recognized factor. After its first 'Songs to Grow On' children's albums appeared on the market everybody began thinking in terms of activity records for children. Its jazz records broke ground for old and new fans and in the classics Disc produced one of the first complete opera albums as well as the first recording of the now famous Masquerade Suite by Khachaturian.

Moe also seemed to be working as a one-man PR machine. From a series of draft copies of 'DISC DIGEST #1 (The baby is growing up)' (46-004), it's clear that Moe was working hard to both position and promote DISC within the larger music-selling industry and to identify itself to the music-buying public[23]. Among other items, Moe notes that:

With tireless effort and unshaken belief from a modest beginning - successful results.

A new venture was established throughout the country with overseas contacts. Disc supplies the know-how. Expansion has not come cheaply but with most of the industry singing the blues about the spring and summer slumps Disc is carrying on in its selected sphere....Disc has been able to ride it. Building up a steady clientele that is continually growing.

In the Swim; the call for unusual and hard to get items that first attracted customers to DISC is a steady and fast growing one. A force in American life today.

Families can keep up with modern cultural trends with Disc just as they read their everyday newspaper. A sure guide to the better people everywhere. The people who count are the ones who read and are interested in culture. They prefer Disc. Leaders in Amer[ican] life.

The company is not worried about the future in spite of new inventions or the Petrillo ban.[24] Asch is proud of his part...

Another factor in the growing success of DISC was Moe's efforts to put cover art on his records. This was not only celebrated by Moe himself in a number of interviews, but also in contemporary news articles like Bill Gottlieb's (1947:12) "Cover Art Sells

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[22] At the same time as Moe was beginning to introduce DISC, he was also checking proofs for a new Asch International label (45-007).

[23] There exists several different sets of copy written at this time about the role of DISC and the importance of different aspects of promotion, including the importance of booklets (X-006), and the importance of strategy (X-009).

[24] This refers to the strike by the American Federation of Musicians, beginning in 1942. See Leiter (1953).

Albums". There is little doubt, both from insiders and the media, that cover art did indeed make a tremendous impact in the identification of the albums by the consumer, and thus helping to create an identity for the albums within the marketplace.

However, the growing use of accompanying booklets also helped to distinguish the recordings from others on the market.[25] A clearly thought out piece stressed the importance of the relationships between the booklet and the music (X-006):

> The packaging of discs in albums, now an accepted part of the record industry, may have begun with concert music. This would have been a logical beginning, to keep intact the records of a set. And the booklet, or inside cover description, may have grown from this, at first to include merely a few facts, later to deal as well with analysis and background. For as time went on album introductions became as erudite as intermission commentaries, but more useful since they formed a part of one's permanent record library....
>
> Today, more than ever, music is music in context....
>
> In the preparation of written material a dual function is performed. First of all, the writing footnotes the contents of the album, giving the background of performers and music. But in describing the latter one can hardly escape the inter-relatedness of one song, dance or type of music to another. Presented clearly and popularly, the writing points up the historical and environmental framework.
>
> Booklets on performers, performance and background accompanying DISC jazz albums, for example, acquaint the listener with jazz as it is today and the pattern of its growth from the early beginnings in New Orleans....

An interesting aside of this text and a few others (X-007, X-008, X-011, and possibly X-006) is the mention of a newsletter-type release called PERISCOPE.[26] There appears to be only a single direct reference concerning the goals and directives of such a release (X-008) with the other items serving as potential material for inclusion in the release. This copy has the provocative heading FOR PERISCOPE: CONTINUATION OF "HUMBLE-PROUD" COPY and continues:

> In recording our own music and that of the world, DISC believes, as do many companies large and small, that they are helping Americans to feel at home with themselves and with their global neighbors. For its own part, DISC has set as its goal a selective, informative and entertaining catalog of albums and records. Along with this have been issued background booklets and releases, and such practical copy as illustrated instructions for dances and for children's games. In Periscope we bring you what others as well as ourselves feel about records and recording, give you an inside look at what goes on inside our plant, trends in the industry and any 'briefs' that will be helpful or interesting. We look forward to your reactions and ideas for we do not intend to narrow the range of vision to DISC doings or the DISC catalog. The columns of Periscope are open to readers in all branches of the industry. We feel healthy enough so that we probably do not need a shot in the arm but we'll always need, and welcome, food for thought. [Signed DISC].

The final comment is an interesting one and fairly perplexing at the same time. It would be pure speculation as to what purpose Moe might have wanted to direct this release, especially given the prevalence of the DISC release notes. The 'broader-issues' theme

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[25] See also Appendix 2 for an 'Anthology of DISC booklets'.

[26] See Appendix 3 for a outline of material to be included in Periscope

might have been strong enough to push Moe, but overall it seems unlikely.[27] Perhaps it might be some type of plan to give the appearance of financial health and stability when, in fact, things were starting to look bleak, as it most certainly would have prior to DISC's bankruptcy.

It should be apparent by now that Moe was very focused on the success of DISC. Moe also seems to have been intent on developing the specific issues of promotion and strategic business plans for DISC. Two examples in particular are of some interest. The first is a draft of a strategy plan. Given the suggestions that are being made, it appears to have come from a sale manager, possibly Nelson Lewis (47-006). If this is the case, the letter was likely directed to Moe (X-009):

> In the summer time one has to stabilize the catalogue and set the policy of the firm for the fall. I believe that Disc will be a factor in the children line there fore I believe that as soon as possible a children set should be issued in plastic. Also a single record in an envelope has to be issued in the children's series.
>
> We are established in the unusual Classic field therefore I believe that the 876 should be at all times available for this item shows the most interest from dealers stand point also I believe that the Charles Ives should be prepared for fall issue with all the preparitory [sic] work done now.
>
> I believe that the Summer Day suite should have a release sheet and be plugged on the air, sent to major reviewers and albums displayed wherever possible for this is an unusual set and can have a good summer movement. I think that the Lennie Tristano Album should be issued as soon as possible because the followers of that type of jazz will buy at all times as I do not believe that there is a special season for him.
>
> Calypso should always be in our mind because the buyers of this kind of music are legion and expect and will buy new releases. However, main stores want these records in albums.
>
> We have broken the prejudice of 12" jazz records with the 2500 and I believe that the Red Norvo "The Man I Love" will be another hit of the same nature.
>
> Disc is a major factor in the industry in its folk series I don't think that a new item should be issued in this series till June or July and then the item should be Van Wey in Louisiana folk songs for she is light on the ears and very melodic as an alternative I would suggest her Smokey Mountain ballads.
>
> We have a blues record made by Brownie McGhee which could be issued for the Harlem trade. A test record should be made and sent out to the various Distributors who would go for such item.

The second set of documents is enigmatic to say the least. With no date or author, or any type of identification on it, it is very difficult to determine its position within the document trail. In fact, of the four pages, it does not seem likely that more than two of them actually belong together, other than appearing as though there are answers to a questionnaire of some type. However, the importance of these documents is that they again point to the concerted efforts that were directed at planning a strategy for the DISC releases. The items on the documents amount to little more than collections of statements:

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[27] There is a cryptic list of items printed on DISC letterhead that outline 'material for Periscope'. See Appendix 3 for detail of this list.

however, it does provide an interesting glimpse into the types of questions that need to be addressed in planning recording releases and future projects (from X-011):

Artists associated on Disc in the Race field that are also on other, acceptable labels

Lonnie Johnson
Brownie McGhee
Lead Belly
Sonny Terry
The Two Keys
Ernestine Washington

Calypso
Spiritual

Artists associated on Disc in the Hillbilly (Folk Field)
Cisco Houston
Chet Tyler

Ralph Page the singing caller and group
Paul Hunt and group

Potential artists that are on Disc Label that should be in this group with old releases
Woody Guthrie
Pete Seeger
Tom Glazer

We billed over 500,000.00 and returns with bad pressings bad handling unbusiness [sic] management is less than 2%.
Therefore Disc is associated with salable merchandise new approach, customer acceptance, trade acceptance.

For the purpose of fast turnover merchandise (records)

It is my belief that we keep the present label because:
Present label in existence 2 years we gave 100% ret (good will)
It is now acceptable with about 30 distributors.
and is acceptable to new ones. (Jazz and Race)
Who at the present time consist of 13 who are the sole distributors namely:

Virginia
Atlanta
Florida (when we get one)
Texas
Tenn.
South Carolina (Rixon)
Louisiana
Oklahoma
St. Louis
Cleveland
Detroit
Buffalo
Utah
Denver
Oregon
Washington
California

While in Chicago there is a choice of 2 others
In New York of 4 others
Connecticut 1 other
New England 2 other
Pennsylvania 2 other

It is the type of merchandise that has to be exploited
Types:

Popular field (general)
- Novelty
- Tune
- Lyric

Specialty field
- Hillbilly (fastest sales turnover)
- Race most concentrated group
- Jazz Acceptable to both white and Negro
- Latin American the most potential
- Polka very regional
- Foreign smallest group but concentrated.

Artists associated on DISC label in the most acceptable group. (Jazz)

Jazz at the Philharmonic	Mary Lou Williams
Illinois Jacket [sic]	Howard McGhee
King Cole	Slim Gailard
Charles Ventura	Les Paul
Charlie Parker	Dizzy Gillespie
Lester Young	Mel Powell
Errol Garner	Meade Lux Lewis
Mugsy Spanier	J. J. Johnson
Bob Haggart	Red Norvo
Vic Dickenson	Willie Smith
Sidney Bechet	Lennie Tristano
	(Gene Krupa)

C. issue records in the types most suited for present distributors and in demand by them.
- race
- be-bop
- hillbilly

1. by purchasing masters
   - licensing of masters from other recorders
     - individuals
     - companies
2. recording new masters
3. issue from catalogue records with most potential sales by recoupling of the most salable two sides.

E. in each category we are interested in a new release is necessary not later than every three weeks.

F. we get constantly hints and suggestions from our present sources of sales as to what, when, and how items that these sources are interested in merchandising are to be issued.

The importance of outlining this rather disjointed set of documents is threefold. First, it gives a very interesting glimpse into the process that Moe might have used to review the position of DISC in the marketplace. There is no question that there are very clear directives with respect to what should be released when and the kinds of stylistic or topical areas that are to be highlighted. Second, it reinforces that from a production point of view,

Moe was not at all hesitant to use whatever sources of music might be available to him. He appears, even at this early date, to be fully committed to the material and less focused on the manner in which he is able to acquire it for release.

Finally, there is the concern over the comment made regarding keeping the present label. There might be, in my view, two possible reasons for making this kind of comment. One is the possibility that there was some question about the success of 'DISC' in the marketplace and that perhaps a name more reflective of the material be chosen. Conversely, there might have been an issue of the distance that some of the material had moved from jazz which, by some accounts, was largely the reason for the formation of DISC in the first place (with Norman Granz). Thus, there might have been discussion about beginning a different label to better reflect the differences in material.

The second and more ominous reason might be the rising threat of bankruptcy. The mention of the state of affairs at two years old puts the date of the reference at something close to 1948 - the year that DISC ended.[28] If this is the case, then the text may point to some discussion concerning the future of the label and perhaps whether a name change or some alteration might not improve matters. It does appear in the text, however, that the net response to such an inquiry was to remain as DISC because of the relationships that had already been established.

Unfortunately, 1948 brought heartache for Moe with the demise of DISC. High production costs and the increased risk associated with Norman Granz and the Jazz at the Philharmonic (JATP) series was the likely cause of Moe's bankruptcy and the end of production under the DISC label.[29] In early 1948 Moe sent out an agreement form to all his creditors in an effort to work out a settlement of accounts. Moe offered two options to his creditors: 1) 25% of all said claims; or 2) 10% of said claims "at the time hereinafter specified and five percent monthly thereafter until the entire claim of the undersigned is fully paid" (48-001). According to Moe, he was some $300 000 dollars in debt when DISC folded. Though there is a series of lists that accompanied the copy of the creditor letter which indicated names and amounts, it is unclear exactly how the two are connected. It certainly appears as though the list indicates payable amounts, but they do not come anywhere close to $300 000 - in fact, they might total a couple of thousand dollars at best.[30]

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[28] Oddly, Bluestein (1987) lists the dates for DISC at 1946-1951. However, the bankruptcy occured in 1947-48 so it is unclear what source he is using to mark the passing of the company.

[29] See Appendix 4 for a production summary of DISC material at this time.

[30] There is no real reason to doubt the $300 K figure, given its frequent invocation and the fact that DISC's $500 K sales billing could place the debt figure into this range. However, based on material contained in the

* * *

The singularly critical document concerning DISC at this point was prepared in anticipation of the bankruptcy proceedings for DISC and titled "Operations of the DISC Company of America from its Inception to Date of Proceedings" (X-012). Unfortunately, the bulk of the document is in draft form with only one page appearing to be part of the final copy. Nonetheless, this document sets out in detail the economic steps that Moe took to try to maintain control of DISC. It also provides an absolutely classic example of the difficulties that success can bring upon a small record company (see especially Mabry 1990). Due to the importance of the document, it is presented below in its entirety[31]:

Started in business	December 1945
Assets:	$6,000.00 capital, recording studio
	[Received?] guarantee of $10,000.00 worth of credit for record pressings from Clark Phono. Record Co. arranged through Joseph Corn, Atty.[32]
	[Had a] guarantee of $500.00 a day income from Interstate distributors.
Standing in industry:	The first releases got rave notices from nation's press. Time Magazine wrote profile on the ~~young~~ Disc Company and Moe Asch.
First business adjustment:	In the late spring, early summer of 1946, about 8 months after inception of the company, because of continually growing sales and expanded distribution it became necessary to make arrangements for additional credit.
With record producers:	Through Joseph Corn, I made the following arrangement from pressings:
	$30,000.00 worth of credit payable in 90 days instead of the original 30 day terms [through] (Joseph Corn) ~~formed~~ Pioneer records Inc. [they were] to hold masters through assignment as security. Pioneer Records to pay federal tax ~~and Clark Phono. Rec. Co.~~ and Moe Asch to pay Pioneer [who would pay] (Joseph Corn) ~~of~~ (Pioneer Records) was not to dispose of these masters in case of non payment of bills, without the written consent of both Moe Asch and Clark.
With Printers:	Gave dated checks to Perfect Printing and started with Globe Printing who gave me extended credits.
With album manu.:	Worked long term payments with Howard Matthews, Globe Albums, [Progressive Album].

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document below, it would appear that a figure between $100 K and $200 K might be more in line with the actual debt incurred. Nonetheless, $300 K, while high, is possible.

[31] Unless otherwise noted, the text comes from the draft version of the document. The strikethrough words are as they are in the text. They are included because of the additional information that they provide. Words in square brackets [] indicate hand-written additions to the text. A '?' indicates uncertainty of certain words. Words in parentheses {} are my own additions in this case only.

[32] See Appendix 5.

Second business adjustment:

In the early fall of 1946, as the demand for my merchandise kept increasing so also the complaints about poor quality pressings and albums given to me by my manufacturers made it imperative for me {to} seek new sources of supply to prepare for the winter season. Consequently I needed additional credits.

Through Mr. Minton of Putnam's and my father I was able to arrange with the Nat'l Bank of Far Rockaway a loan for $10,000.00 [and a $25,000.00 credit on] trade acceptances from my distributors [and personal notes].

With record producers:

At this time I made a deal with Eastern Rec. Mfg. co. (Mr. Erlinger) for $5,000.00 revolving credit in which I gave him $2500.00 advance notes, leaving $2500.00 open and paying the balance on the 10th of the following month.[33]

With printers:

With Globe Printing I arranged to split bills due into 3 or 4 equal payments giving him dated checks payable 30-60-90-120-180 days which he [said he] was able to discount.

Third business adjustment:

The winter of 1946 through 1947 was a good one. However, because of the truck strike around this time, my sales manager[34] whom I had hired several months previous and myself, felt that it would be advisable to move the warehouse to New jersey and accordingly I made arrangements to do this. As I had reached my limit with the Far Rockaway bank, I had some accounts receivable discounted at the Pennsylvania Exchange bank in New York.[35]

In the spring-summer of 1947 I went to California to open up new distribution. At this time also because my distributors were demanding classical merchandise I made a deal with Jacques Rachmilovich and the Santa Monica Symphony Orchestra to issue their classical recordings giving him dated notes. I made a deal with Allied Records in California for what they told me would be good quality pressing absorbing the extra freight charges since I could not get quality 12" material from either Clark or Eastern.

As my account with Corn (Clark) was running 6 months behind I made arrangements to pay him for current bills plus ~~something~~ on account of old bills.

On credit:

At this time, because the Bank of Far Rockaway gave me assurances that I could have $50,000.00 worth of credit, $25,000.00 guaranteed by my father, and $25,000.00 worth of trade acceptances from my distributors, my father put up $25,000.00 and 2 additional notes of $7,000.00 each payable in 1947 and in 1948. After he signed they limited me to $25,000.00 covered by my father's guarantee.

With distributors:

I also borrowed money from my New York distributors, Malverne (who was just beginning to handle the Mercury line) on the basis of large orders they guaranteed me in the fall and winter of 1947 [especially on classical sets].[36]

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[33] See Appendix 6.

[34] This is likely Nelson Lewis (47-006).

[35] I believe this is the process of 'selling' a receivable to the bank for a percentage of amount owed in order to raise capital quickly.

[36] A contract exists for March 1947 between DISC and Malverne giving Malverne exclusive distribution in the City of New York, and Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester Counties (47-004a).

The Fall of 1947: Business in general instead of picking up started to slack off. I started getting back defective merchandise from my distributors in lieu of payment and cancellations particularly on my classical items. {Beginning of later version} However, my distributors assured me that this was simply a readjustment period as they felt that my line was a whole would always be in demand. I accepted trade acceptances from Don Sherwood in California in anticipation of Christmas orders.

In order to clear some of the pressing creditors so that I might get merchandise for anticipated good winter season, I made an arrangement with Mr. Erlinger whereby he gave me $10,000.00 as an advance against the masters that he was pressing and guarantee of another $10,000.00 for possession of the masters, on demand. This was to enable me to carry on and see if I could bale {sic} myself out. I also arranged with him to help me run the distribution by participating as a consultant.

The Winter of 1947: My New York distributor (Malverne) on whom I had counted for a large income now dropped more than 50% in orders for my merchandise as they had made a deal with Mercury to push their stock and as I would not consent to have Mercury press and distribute my records on the west coast. There were many innuendoes. In desperation I decided with Mr. Erlinger to create my own distribution and accordingly (together with Mr. Erlinger and myself) Mr. William Avar created the Phoenix Disc Distr.

With the severe winter of 1947, bad business and bad merchandise returns from my distributors it became increasingly difficult for me to meet my obligations.

In December of '47 Joseph Corn put a padlock on my warehouse in New Jersey and refused to open it until I gave him a release on my merchandise on hand pressed from my masters at Clark and albums pertaining thereto, and he put my sales manager as custodian of this merchandise.

At this time Mr. Erlinger took over complete distribution. I was put on a salary of $125.00 a week to create new sales outlets so that Disc could carry on but I was in no way permitted to have any contractual or business relations with the distribution of Disc records.

In February 1948, Mr. Erlinger agreed to loan me money to pay my creditors on condition that the masters from which he pressed records belonged to him (this did not include Allied or Clark) and he gave me $10,000.00 A plan was offered to my creditors for 25% as total payment or 10% down and 5% a month until amounts due were entirely cleared. It was understood that I would get half of Disc Distributing when all my creditors were paid up. {This is the end of the extant document}

The eventual death of DISC Records and the strangulation of Asch Records represent what might be called the 'learning curve' for Moe. It was undoubtedly a very tough time financially. However, there were a number of other activities going on at the time that helped to set the stage for both the formation of Folkways, as well as the establishment of a 'safety net' of sorts that would help to buffer Folkways from the exigencies of the recording industry.

The first suggestion of these other activities is in the reference in the above work to the creation of Phoenix Disc Distribution as a means to help bail out DISC. If the company was in fact formed, there is no evidence within the archival material that Phoenix ultimately had anything to do with DISC distribution. However, what is almost never mentioned in

the discussion of this period of Moe's life are some of the other business concerns that might also have had an influence on some of the decisions that were made.

There is no mention that Moe beat Mr. Erlinger and Mr. Avar to the punch by about a year with his own record sales company. On 2 December 1946, Moe filed his business certificate as the sole proprietor of the United Record Service (46-008). There are several items that indicate business was being done by Moe under this letterhead in 1948. One letter to the Peabody College for Teachers on 28 June 1948 states that, "United Record Service offers for distribution the enclosed catalogue of records and other items in the Folkways and specialized category. We would be glad to perform any service in this field for you" (48-020). A further letter indicates to a prospective customer that "Recently you made [an] inquiry regarding available Disc records. We are pleased to enclose herewith lists of these records which we believe you would be interested in. We would be glad to take your order on any of these items" (48-024).

This clearly indicates that United Record Service (URS) was up and running and operating at the same address as DISC and Asch - 117 W. 46th St. NYC. The early date of filing would suggest that this is not Phoenix Disc Distribution re-named.[37] It may very well have been an early idea of Moe's that was not fully developed prior to the bankruptcy of DISC. However, once distribution became an issue, and Moe was not allowed to participate in the promotion of DISC materials as stated in the summary of events, URS may have been his only outlet to retain some control over the management of DISC in the midst of its collapse.

Another question arises out of this particular time concerning the Union Records label.[38] Goldsmith (1998:194-95) suggests that Asch created Union Records as a means to release politically sensitive material (predominantly union-related material like that contained on *Roll the Union On*). Moe then listed the Union Records release in the DISC catalog as an Asch release. What is particularly troublesome about this label is a business certificate was filed with the New York County Clerks Office on 19 January 1946 creating the Union Record Co. (46-002). The proprietor was not Moe Asch, but someone named

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[37] Ultimately, Pioneer Record Sales became the vehicle of choice for Moe to distribute recordings, coming into its own in the late 1950s and 1960s. It is not clear when Pioneer took shape, but there is a possibility that Pioneer rose out of Pheonix. Alternately, Pioneer Record Sales may have arisen out of Pioneer Records, or may be the same company. However, there is no evidence that either Pheonix or Pioneer Records (as a record company) actually came into existence at this time.

[38] There are also a number of examples of Union Records letterhead in the Folkways archives, used primarily as scrap paper for carbon copies of other correspondence. Though this does emphasize a connection between Union Records and Moe Asch, it does not conclusively confirm the assertion that it was 'Moe's label'.

James Dietz with a business address at 119 W. 46th St., which made the label neighbors with Moe.

The contention that the label was Moe's alone is difficult to support with this evidence. Although the handwriting on the certificate filed with New York County bears a striking resemblance to Moe's, it would be careless under these circumstances to suggest that the label was Moe's. If Moe did deliberately forge or otherwise falsify the certificate, he would be placing himself at considerable risk. Indeed, he could have simply created a new label to stick on these releases without filing a business certificate and created the illusion of separation without the aggravation.[39]

However, a different scenario might be more applicable. Let us assume that the certificate is authentic (and there is no reason to suggest that it was falsified) and that James Dietz did run the Union Record Co. next door to Moe. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that Dietz could have access to the recording facilities at WEVD. Moe would not have turned away income when it was so convenient. If Dietz needed material, and if the name of the company reflected in any way the intention of the proprietor, then the People's Songs connection was entirely appropriate. Perhaps Moe was acquainted with Dietz and assisted him in setting up the company for mutually beneficial ends, including Moe's distribution of the recordings. In any event, I do not believe that Union Records is simply 'one of Moe's labels'. Unless the deliberate falsification and notarization of the business certificate can be proven, Moe's role in the company is most likely once removed from its origins.

The net result of the all of the difficulties that Moe had with Asch Records and DISC Records was that Moe needed to start over. Unfortunately, one of the conditions of the bankruptcy agreement with DISC was that he was forbidden to be an officer of a record company for a substantial period. The story of the origin of Folkways Records then goes something like this. When the bankruptcy sale took place, a committed employee that had worked with Moe through the 1940s - Marian Distler - stepped up to purchase the assets of DISC at a Marshal's auction.

Once the assets were secured[40], they set about to create another company. The creation of Folkways Record and Service Corporation was fully that of Moe Asch.

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[39] Moe, in fact, did this with the release of Solo records. Other than a few recordings in the archive with the Solo label, there is only a contract between Folkways and B&W Record Distributors of Hollywood, CA for the exclusive distribution and production rights to the Solo label. Folkways makes clear that they own all content, but will provide the masters for B&W to press the recordings. The contract is dated 1 December 1948 (48-030a).

[40] The motivation of Distler to make this purchase and the source of the funds have been the subject of some debate. None of the details will be pursued here as they are not directly germane to this particular discussion.

However, the ownership constraints forced Asch and Distler into some type of agreement, in which she would be the sole officer of the new company. The business certificate for Folkways was filed at the New York County Clerks Office on 30 July 1948 (48-027). Distler is listed as the sole officer of the company on the certificate.

There does appear to be some evidence of concern with the connection of Asch to the new company. In a letter of 6 October 1948 (48-028), Frank Borut[41] wrote the following 'To Whom It May Concern' letter:

> I am the attorney for Folkways Records & Service Co., having its office at 117 West 46th Street, New York 19, N.Y.
>
> Folkways Records & Service Co. is a trade name owned and operated by Marion Distler at the above address. The above company has no connection with either Moe Asch, Disc Company of America, or Disc Distributing Co., Inc. That the said Marion Distler is the sole owner of certain masters and properties with which she is now doing business and which are in her possession. That the said Marion Distler has taken over the premises at 117 West 46th Street, at which place she is doing business.
>
> That the certificate of doing business of Marion Distler under the firm name and style of Folkways Records & Service Co. is filed in the office of the County Clerk of the County of New York.

In spite of the economic turmoil and the trying circumstances of the day, Folkways Records was born.

* * *

Reflecting on the demise of Asch Records and DISC Records, one is left with a sense the Moe faced a run of bad luck. Asch Records seemed to be enjoying a relative amount of success recording primarily ethnic records with no reason to think this strategy would not continue to be successful. However, the exigencies of a wartime economy forced Asch into a partnership that, on the face of it, worked well. It is often well out of anyone's control when such relationships deteriorate as the Asch/Stinson arrangement did. Moe was left to salvage what he could of his masters and inventory and attempt to regain the control that he had once had.

DISC seemed to rectify many of the problems that Moe had encountered with Asch Records. There seemed no need to enter into any distribution partnerships to make it work. Moe was able to expand into other musical areas to broaden the range of his catalog. However, in being well aware of the pitfalls of the Asch/Stinson arrangement, Moe seemed to overlook the potential risk offered in a creative partnership. Norman Granz offered a unique set of recording opportunities to release live jazz recordings of a type that greatly interested Moe. Again, the risk turned against Moe, highlighting the dangers of investing too much in the cost of the recording. When bad luck struck again and Moe was unable to

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[41] Frank Borut was also the person who notarized the identity of Marian Distler for the business certificate application.

get the Nat King Cole recordings to the stores for the Christmas rush of 1946, he was unable to recoup his costs and was pushed into bankruptcy.

There is no question that these events stood prominent in the decisions that Moe made with respect to other enterprises that he supported. The following sections on Folkways Records will illustrate both his caution in creating different distribution and production relationships, as well as his tireless efforts to keep production costs down. Folkways stands as the testament to Moe's development as a business man as well as a creative entrepreneur. This will be shown clearly as, from this point on, this work will be focused on the details and relationships that comprise Folkways Records. There will be the occasional reference to other concerns of Moe's, but it will, unless specifically noted otherwise, be about the life and times of Folkways.

CHAPTER 5

MAKING AND DISTRIBUTING RECORDINGS

Though it is not explicit, much of the history and information on Folkways Records begins with this chapter. The focus of the discussion at hand is clear: the productive process of making and distributing recordings. However, from this point on all issues and concerns are implicitly directed at Folkways unless otherwise specified. It is important to keep in mind, however, that many of the processes and limitations discussed here are also directly applicable to the production processes that Moe had to deal with in the operation of Asch Records and DISC Records.

This process begins with the accumulation of materials needed to create recordings in the first place. Though the early story of Moe's recording career is tied to the acquisition of shellac, this part of the discussion will center on the acquisition of artistic material for his recordings. Throughout the years that Moe produced recordings, his method for acquiring material remained largely the same. Indeed, what is most striking is the dedicated efforts at cost reduction that he pursued despite the variety of methods he used to gather material: receiving unsolicited material, soliciting material, recording material as it was required, or by entering into licensing agreements with other companies or individuals. The actual production of the recordings was then left to a number of outside pressing plants.

The second step in the process is the dissemination of the product into the marketplace. In this area, Moe followed much of what would be predicted with respect to standard distribution practice. However, with the exception of some of the licensed deals that he entered into, virtually all of the distribution was handled by independent distributors and dealers.

The final component in the recording process and in the construction and maintenance of recordings as property are the contractual and legal obligations that surround the recordings. These relationships are critical to consider given the importance of the politico-legal sphere of the capitalist mode of production in delineating economic relationships and setting the parameters for property control. This will obviously prove to be a central concern in the consideration of copyrights and royalties that were often such contentious issues throughout Moe's recording career.

Making The Product: Pressing And Printing

One of the essential features in the creation of the recorded product is the actual pressing of the record. Unfortunately, this step is also arguably one of the most mundane of procedures. As a result, very little in the way of documentation exists to try to establish the kinds of relationships that were developed over the first decade of Folkways Records.

In one respect, the previous history that Moe had in the record industry with Asch Records and Disc Records had already put him in contact with many of the small pressing companies in the New York area that he could utilize to produce Folkways recordings. One must remember, however, that it is not simply the pressing of the record that is required: labels, sleeves, covers, booklets, and slicks (if needed) also need to be printed to produce the final product.

The documentation for Folkways Records in these areas is slim at best. There are a few pressing orders, some printing orders and the occasional price list from various manufacturers. What is intriguing, however, is that far more invoices and the like exist for Disc records during the early and mid-forties, just prior to bankruptcy and the creation of Folkways. It is interesting to note that a pattern was established during the Disc days of using several different pressing and printing plants at any given time. Through the 1940s, pressing was done predominately at Eastern Record Co. (Laurel Hill, Long Island), but also at Clark Phonograph Co. (Harrison, NJ), Bart Laboratories (Belleville, NJ), Muzak Co. (New York City, NY), and possibly Progressive Album Co. (Brooklyn, NY)[1]. Printing at this time was also spread out among several companies including Keystone Printed Specialties Co. (Scranton, PA)[2], Globe Printing (New York City, NY)[3], and Kaltman Press (Woodside, Long Island, NY)[4].

From a financial point of view, it is easy to understand why the economics of record production are so precarious. One of the curious features of pressing plants at this time was the allowance for up to 10 percent above or below the requested order number to be pressed and billed to the customer. This practice is mentioned in several places ranging from the detailed price list from Record Manufacturing Corporation of America (51-002) to an invoice from Custom Record Sales - RCA Victor that lists 769 records shipped on an

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1 It is not entirely clear if this is a pressing plant or a company specializing in album covers and sleeves.

2 Predominantly during the Asch-Stinson agreement (44-001, 44-003, 44-004, 45-002, 45-006). The three labels sets ordered under 44-001, 44-003, and 44-004 were to be used for records pressed by another pressing plant, National Recording Company of Philipsberg, NJ. After 1944 there is no longer mention of this company.

3 47-015

4 47-049

order of 750 (which resulted in difficulties settling the account) (55-004). However, what is particularly notable about this practice is the pressure that it puts on the small record company that is forced to absorb unanticipated costs in record production. In a letter to George Clark of Clark Phono. Co., Moe writes that:

> On August 25th, I placed an order for 200 #4010 records. Please be advised that on your bill #40003 you sent me 450 records and on #39994 an additional 50. This extra 300 records amounts to about $93.00 above and beyond the amount of records that I need and puts undue and added burden on me which is hard enough to carry now (47-038).

In a letter exchange a decade later regarding a credit account with Allied Record Manufacturing, Moe also notes that he had understood there would be not a 60-day payment deadline, but a 90-day deadline, 'as we have such arrangements with RCA Victor, Sonic Rec. Pro., Plastylite Corp., and others' (61-053)[5]. The important reference here is the naming of Sonic Rec. Pro. and others, indicating additional pressing arrangements which unfortunately have not been clearly documented. This reinforces the suggestion, however, that Folkways used several pressers at various times and at various levels of activity to produce the variety of recordings that it required. As one example, Moe replies to an offer by Harold Friedman of Allentown Records by writing,

> ...please note that we press with RCA only those records that require a longer run, usually a minimum of 300 copies. They give us a very low price and absorb label, stamper and processing costs and they give us credit for 90 days. If you could meet our needs on these terms we would be glad to do business with you (62-25.2).[6]

By the 1950s when Folkways Records had become a going concern, the use of various pressing plants had somewhat changed. The documentation concerning the pressing of Folkways recordings emphasizes Custom Record Sales (a division of RCA Victor) and Plastylite Corporation of North Plainfield, NJ. Though there is not a lot of material remaining about the relations between either company, the date span certainly suggests a long and active partnership. Correspondence dating from early 1955 (55-004.1 - 55-004.4, 55-013), as well as a 1954 price guide (54-002), suggests that Folkways' use of Custom Record Sales was well under way.[7] A second item - a letter by Custom Record Sales to Folkways in 1968 regarding the complete physical inventory held by Custom (68-024) - illustrates the enduring nature of the relationship.

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[5] What is interesting in this exchange is the fact that Moe is offering a credit guarantee using Pioneer Record Sales as part of the assets supporting the credit for Folkways (61-054). This is very likely part of a larger business strategy that will be discussed later in this work.

[6] Moe notes in a letter the year before that the 'usual' pressing for a record runs 'around 300' copies (61-023)

[7] A letter from R. C. Williams of Custom Record Sales to Sam Goody indicates Sam Goody's intention to guarantee a $2500 line of credit with Custom Record Sales. This says a great deal about the nature of some of the relationships between Moe / Folkways and major record retailers, especially in New York (55-007).

Plastylite appears to be one of the original pressers used by Folkways Records. The Archive contains a wide variety of invoices and shipping documents related to the movement of recordings and tapes between Folkways and Plastylite. An early list of the 12" stampers, their condition (amount molded) and the number of labels on hand at Plastylite from 1952 illustrates the extent to which Plastylite was being utilized by this time (See Appendix 7 for a reproduction of the list) (52-005). A later letter from 1959 (59-047) not only confirms the continued relationship between Folkways and Plastylite, but also provides a sense of the volume of recordings that Folkways was selling by that time. The letter from Plastylite offers to Folkways that, "We see no reason why we cannot take care of your required 1,000 - 10" and 2500 - 12" records per week and, starting in January, supplying you with an increased amount to 1500 - 10" and 3,000 - 12" records a week."[8]

This is a substantial volume required of Plastylite, in addition to the other pressings that were being done at other companies. One interesting letter to Moe from H. Weinraub of Plastylite in 1963 sheds some light on the type of relationship that Folkways and Plastylite were able to maintain (59-047.63). In the letter, Weinraub reveals that:

> Some of our record companies make unreasonable demands and we have no other choice then [sic] to follow their instructions. Without them we are out of business.
>
> We are quite aware of your situation and are trying to fit you in, in spite of these things. You may think we are ignoring you but we are not. Believe me, we are doing everything possible to get you out of the hole. Please bear with us.

This statement highlights a couple of important issues. The first is the scale of the production managed by Folkways. Even though the numbers in the previous letter sound substantial, Folkways appears to be in the minority with respect to the attention that they can command from the pressers. Second, although it sounds like Plastylite had already accepted the order and then are having problems filling it, they are nonetheless sensitive to the smaller producer. Obviously this is a sensible business position on their part with respect to Folkways, but it still points to the importance of at least some level of relationship beyond the purely economic to ensure that Folkways are able to meet production demands. What is not clear is the extent to which Folkways is 'in the hole' and the exact nature of the demands being made on Plastylite. It would be an interesting

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[8] An invoice from 20 September 1960 shows a single shipment of assorted titles in 12" Vinylite (50¢/each) containing 1343 records. This is one of several invoices still in the archive. Payment is net 30 days (60-064).

There are other quotes given for production of various parts of the pressing process. For example, Gem Albums offered price quotes for album covers (59-042); Economy Record Co. for pressing 45 rpm records (56-014); Allentown Record Co., Inc. for pressing (50-006, 62-025.1); Arlington Sales Agency, Inc. for Kraft record sleeves (56-001)

sidebar to know which companies were receiving priority production and for which recordings, particularly in the early 1960s.

Moving The Recordings Around: Distribution

For obvious reasons, distribution is a critical component of record sales. However, the business of distribution creates a number of difficulties for small producers. Typically, as suggested by Shore (1983), distribution for the independent company follows one of two courses. The first is to use the distribution networks of the major corporations. Often major companies are more or less vertically integrated, allowing them to control all aspects of the creation/dissemination/sale of recorded product. As a result of the size, major companies can offer services to other companies when the opportunity presents itself. Thus independent companies will often make agreements with major companies to get access to a national or international distribution arrangement. Unfortunately, the arrangement puts the major very much in control and does not allow the independent much flexibility to pursue different avenues of sale.

The second possibility, Shore suggests, is the independent distributor. Independent distributors operate at various sales levels, from local to national, and are not affiliated with any major record companies. However, because of their independent status, distributors often run into conflict with the majors, as the majors can often undercut the independent distributor's cost on a product. Independent distributors are also in conflict with 'sub-distributors' - so-called rackjobbers and one-stops - who deal with retailers at the local level and can take up space that might otherwise go to the larger distributors. Independent distributors also cost more, as they do not normally deal in the kind of volume that makes the majors competitive, nor can they offer up-front payment as they have to wait until a retailer pays an account before they pay the producer.

In either arrangement, however, the producer is somewhat limited in the number of typical connections that the distribution network offers. As most distribution is geared to the material released by the majors, pop records do well in this type of distribution network. However, with a catalog as eclectic as Folkways, a standardized distribution arrangement is simply not sufficient. The result was that Moe utilized virtually every avenue of distribution available to him: some larger distributors, some local level distributors, direct-to-retailer with occasional price incentives, mail-order, as well as self-promotion and a number of foreign arrangements.

Below are some of the relationships that Folkways entered into to get the recordings to where they were sold. Its appearance as a piece-meal affair is largely accurate. Accounts were opened and closed with some frequency. Even after Moe hired Larry

Sockell to establish a national sales base for Folkways (which he appeared to do with considerable success), Moe would continue to make agreements on an indiscriminate basis, often undercutting Larry in the process.

Domestic Distribution

The arrangements that ultimately make up the full range of dealer/distributors agreements for Folkways are complicated and mostly undocumented. They also have the added complications of long periods of activity, with wide geographical distribution both of points of origin of the dealer/distributors and the areas that they cover in their sales. Finally, the sheer volume of retail outlets across the U.S. for Folkways was considerable. The vast majority of these outlets may have only carried a few titles, some only making orders at a customer's request. Nonetheless, tracing with any degree of certainty the full set of distribution channels for Folkways is nearly impossible.

That having been said, however, there is a substantial amount of information that does exist concerning a wide range of relationships through the two decades of Folkways that we are interested in here. While it is very likely that the documentary evidence behind most of the arrangements discussed in the following section is incomplete, I believe that there is enough information to paint a reasonable picture of the kind of distribution network(s) that Folkways developed (see also Appendix 8 for more information on distributors).

In the interests of basic organization, the following summaries are of some of the documented dealer/distributors in alphabetical order. Any information that is available regarding geographical areas, time periods and the like, will be discussed under the business headings. This section will be followed by a discussion of some of the issues and observations that can be made about the nature of distribution for Folkways.

Allied Music Co.[9] (Los Angeles, CA.)

Allied Music Co. was an important distributor for Folkways Records in the Los Angeles area, particular for educational markets. This first became clear in a letter from Moe in 1960 that first instructed Irving Shorten of Allied that Sid Fox of Children's Music would be placing orders through Allied directly (60-028). Secondly, in his typically testy tone, Moe describes the difficulties of the educational market that they are dealing with:

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[9] 2542 West Pico Blvd. Los Angeles, CA.

...Enclosed please find a card from Spencer Press, exclusive Columbia records school distributors who cater to educational institutions throughout the country. As over 50% of our business is educational and since we only give a 10 to 25% discount on orders over $500.00, I feel we must find a method of counteracting this competition. As you see such organizations as American Seating Company, Brunswick, Pocketput [sic] and others are entering into this field, they carry records.

Please bear in mind that there is such a thing as excise in this industry which we have to pay to the government which is 11% of the monies we get in that this is more than our net profit. With certification of school sales we are excused from this percentage by the government. Therefore, in order for us to maintain our discounts, may we please ask that you request of the customers you service, who sell to schools, for certification of such sales that you can send to us and which we in turn can get some slight compensation for from the Internal Revenue. I assure you that the more you are able to do for us on this, the more co-operation we will be able to give you.

C & C Dist. Co.[10] (San Francisco, CA.)

The documentation on this company is limited to one letter (62-038). However, it is an important letter for two reasons. First, that it is a letter of offer from Larry Sockell[11] indicating that following on previous discussions about taking on Folkways Records in the future, "As matters now stand, I may be able to switch Folkways over to you in the immediate future'. Sockell then outlines the pricing[12] and indicates that a current catalog is enclosed.

Second is the implicit declaration of the cessation of two other distribution deals, though the reasons are not clear: 'All that would be required would be for you to take over the existing inventory at D. M. Sales (probably about $4000.00) and reorder as you need to merchandise'. What is more interesting in many ways, however, is the postscript to the letter: 'New Sound did an excellent job for us, and D. M. was even more successful but Moe Asch feels that it is more important to live up to one's promises and meet ones obligations as they occur'. Not only does the letter mark the potential beginning to one distribution relationship and notes the demise of two others, but it makes a strong statement about Moe's business dealings. Moe could be quite ruthless in some of his arrangements. However, in this case, to turn his back on two admittedly successful arrangements for the sake of a personal obligation is striking. It is not known what the promise/obligation in question is, but it underscores at least one facet of Moe's approach to business relationships.

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[10] 1325 Howard St. San Francisco, CA.

[11] Mr. Sockell was, to the best of my knowledge, the only full-time music sales representative that Folkways ever used.

[12] "List is for $4.25 for 10", 5.95 for 12", your cost 2.00 and 2.80 respectively. Terms 2% 10 E. O. M. In the past we have come up with deals from 10% to as much as 20%." (62-038)

Children's Music Center[13] (Los Angeles, CA)

The relationship between Sid Fox of the Children's Music Center and Folkways Records was an important one. This was due in part because of the size and importance of the distribution area, but also because of the emphasis on educational materials. Though more will be said on this later, there was a relatively constant emphasis from Moe to maintain Folkways' position within the educational market. Indeed, many of the recording series would really only have application to the educational market (spoken word, language training, historical and the like).

In a quite important letter of August 1959 (59-044), Sid Fox outlines the terms of an agreement that was being negotiated between Children's Music and Folkways. The main areas of concern in the letter are of pricing, educational certification and distribution. The pricing was out at $1.75 for 10" LPs and $2.50 for 12" LPs. This is a competitive wholesale pricing, and as Fox points out, "This was done [in part] on the basis of an expanded promotional campaign..."[14] In fact, Fox goes on to note that Children's Music was already giving promotional copies of recordings to KPFK, a 'new, non-commercial FM radio station'.

The educational certification (as was noted under Allied Music) was an important part of the educational distribution plan of Folkways, in large part because of the importance of taking advantage of the excise tax exemption that was offer by the government. As Fox notes in point 2 of the letter:

> Enclosed you will find a copy of our Certificate of Registry which makes it unnecessary for you to charge us excise tax. However, we will still continue to supply you with the necessary Affidavits of Ultimate Vendor[15] listing records purchased by schools.

Most important, of course, are the conditions of distribution. In point 4 of the letter, Fox points out that "On our paragraph 5, this should have read, 'The Children's Music Center will be the distributor of Folkways Records to educational dealers in the Southern California area only'.[16] I am sorry that this was not included in the original because that is exactly what I meant." Furthermore, there was the advantage of Fox's other arrangements[17]:

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[13] 2858 W. Pico Boulevard. Los Angeles, CA.

[14] Likely to compensate for the free review copies that are commonly distributed for promotional purposes.

[15] This is likely the documentation that was referred to in the section on Allied Music to prove the educational standing of the final vendor of the recordings.

[16] Fox also clarifies this to mean south of San Francisco.

[17] Fox was also operating out of the Curriculum Center (5128 Venice Blvd. Los Angeles, CA) though it was unclear whether this was a separate entity from Children's Music Center or a development from it (60-060).

We will have as national distributors of Folkways tapes for foreign language study all of the Caliphone dealers who sell the Caliphone Language Laboratory. This means about 75 dealers covering the entire United States. We can also supply these to dealers who sell other language laboratories of which there are now a few hundred.

In spite of the evidence of only a single document, it is clear that the Children's Music Center was poised to be a major player in distributing Folkways Records.

Cosnat Distributing Corp.[18] (Cincinnati, OH.)

Very little is known about this particular organization. A letter of appointment (59-067) in December 1959 as Folkways' exclusive distributor in the Cincinnati area outlines the terms of cost and payment[19], along with the terms of the relationship: "We reserve the right to cancel this arrangement on the grounds of delinquent payments or less than normal sales in any period of time."

Unfortunately, the only other piece of correspondence in the archive was a termination letter (61-011). Addressed to Ed Rosenblatt, Moe states:

Please be advised that from this day on you do not represent Folkways Records. Our business relationship has been impossible and our sales have been most disappointing. You will be hearing from I. K. Distributors who is going to be our new Cincinnati distributor. I understand that he will take over your stock. Please let me know what this will be so I can give you proper credit.

Our personal relations have been the best, but our business relationship has been terrible.

Florida Music Sales[20] (Miami, FL.)

The relationship here appears to be somewhere between a dealer and a non-retailing distributor. As the one extant letter from Larry Sockell to Steve Brookmire of Florida Music Sales outlines (62-035),

Having spoken with Moe Asch of Folkways Records, I am happy to inform you that we are willing to work with you as per our discussion.

Florida Music Sales to act as our agents in the State of Florida, by having the salesmen take orders for Folkways Records.

Once credit has been approved by Florida Music Sales the orders are to be forwarded directly to Folkways, who will drop ship to the customer and bill Florida Music Sales, who will send a remittance, on the 10th. of each month, for any and all shipments made into the territory. Terms 2% 10 days EOM.

All orders received direct by Folkways Records will be returned to Florida Music Sales for approval.

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[18] 27 West Court, Cincinnati, OH.

[19] "Our terms are: net 30 days, 5% additional discount if payment is make within ten days and 3% 20 days. Lists are $5.95 and $4.25 with certain exceptions and your nets are $2.80 and $2.00 and 50 and 10 [%] from the lists on the excepted items."

[20] 119 NE 54th Street. Miami, FL.

Interestingly, there was a virtually identical letter sent out the same day to Hopkins Equipment Co.[21] of Atlanta, Georgia. The letter authorized Hopkins Equipment Co. 'to act as agents in Georgia, Tenn[essee], Alabama & No[rth] and So[uth] Carolina and, Mississippi, by having your salesmen take orders for Folkways Records." Beyond this letter (62-036), however, there is no indication that the relationship continued.

I. K. Distributors[22] (Cincinnati, OH)

Following on the termination of Cosnat Distributing (see above), Moe welcomed I. K. Distributors aboard (62-022). Moe closes the brief letter outlining the transition from Cosdel by reminding them that 'I am expecting an order from you shortly'. There is no other correspondence.

K. O. Asher Inc.[23] (Chicago, Ill.)

K. O. Asher is one of the early outlets used by Folkways in the Great Lakes area. On the heels of what might have been some difficulties in 1959, Marian Distler assured K. O. Asher that, "Since the inception of Folkways Records in 1948 you have been our distributor and there has never been any question as to our accepting our records from you for credit on your returns"(59-049). The issue of returns, in fact, continued to be the topic of correspondence for many more years. In 1960 the issue came up again with Asher inquiring whether an account that they were servicing (Lyon and Healy, Inc. of Chicago) would be entitled to full-cost returns through Asher, even in the event that the Asher/Folkways deal were to terminate (60-058). An interesting issue arising out of this inquiry was Asher seeking assurances that such arrangements would also apply to Pioneer Record Sales, Inc., the sales branch set up to handle the distribution of Folkways and other labels that Moe was distributing himself.

The Asher/Folkways arrangements proved to be difficult in 1964. There was a re-negotiation of their contract which 'had at least a dozen amendments'. In this particular piece of correspondence, there are a couple of interesting references made by Asher that are of interest with respect to the operation of Folkways. First was a reference to the fact that it 'eliminates Marian Distler's guarantee'. It is unclear what this reference points to, though it is likely regarding some type of contractual guarantee that Marian made concerning the relationship. Following on this, and in fact the two references may be related, is a second

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[21] 418 W. Peachtree St. Atlanta, Georgia.

[22] 1 000 Broadway. Cincinnati, OH.

[23] Wholesale Distribution. Import-Export. 7818 S. Stony Island Ave. Chicago, Illinois.

comment by Asher that 'I assume that you are now president of Folkways and Pioneer". The full consequences of these references are currently unclear, but it may be an interesting point for further inquiry.

Later that year, however, was an exchange that points to some of the larger difficulties in tracing the overall distribution networks. On 23 September 1964 Asher wrote to Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. that they had just received a letter from Roberts Record Distributing Co. of St. Louis addressed to 'dealers' stating that they were now the exclusive distributors of Folkways Records in St. Louis. Understandably upset, Asher follows by stating, "Referring to our contract of April 27, 1964 we advise you that this is a violation of our contract. We will keep you and the co-signers of the contract responsible for the damage inflicted on us" (64-027).

The letter from Folkways to Asher dated two days later (25 September 1964) (64-027) seems to address the St. Louis question, but not in response to the 23 September letter of Asher, as its full text indicates:

Dear Mr. Asher:

We find that we are now in a position to service the St. Louis area as an important outlet for Folkways Records.

Therefore we would solicit your indulgence in permitting Folkways to make direct sales to this territory.

It is our feeling, and we hope that you will agree, that the sales potential of the St. Louis area may be more fully realised in this manner.

May we expect an affirmative reply?

One is left to wonder about the actual circumstances surrounding the two different positions. A number of scenarios could be offered at this point. However, given that there is no other documentation surrounding either position, it would be guesswork to offer an explanation.

Kay's Record Distributors[24] (Baltimore, MD)

The letter to Kay's would not be terribly noteworthy were it not for the fact that it is so obviously not written by Moe. The letter, which outlines the type of relationship that Folkways expected from their newest distributor, is so much more eloquent and detailed that it is impossible it is by Moe, and is, in fact by Marian Distler. For this reason it stands out both for the fact that it is not terribly common to find a letter that was penned by her, but also that it outlines in much more detail the expectations of Folkways for their

[24] 1718 John Street. Baltimore, MD.

distributors in 1958 and the decade that followed. For these reasons, the letter is quoted below (58-002):

Dear Mr. [James B.] Klompus:

We would be pleased to have you represent us in the Baltimore-Washington territory and the following is an outline of our working arrangements.

Enclosed please find our catalog and brochure. All items are available and should any be out of stock at any time they are back ordered for delivery in ten to fourteen days. We ship directly to the dealers from New York upon receipt of your instructions. We do not require any minimum, but for orders of 5 or more albums we pay the delivery charge. We reserve the right to solicit and do business with educational institutions such as schools, libraries, universities, museums. We do not prohibit you from taking such orders; our billing to such organizations is 20% from list. Our regular billing is 2% 10 days with credit reference or c.o.d. We expect that you will take care in sending us accredited accounts. We will pay you 10% of the monies we collect from your orders once to twice a month depending on the volume. You will receive a duplicate of every invoice for your own checking purposes. We will send you samples free of charge and will be glad to send you sales aids, and any brochure that you may require and catalogs.

We prefer to have the stores order what they need and not overstock. We allow exchanges and in some cases return privilege. Some stores may wish to send us orders directly in which case you will be credited for same. We expect you will have some c.o.d. accounts and possibly be able to enlist some standing order accounts.

I will be glad to answer any further questions and please acknowledge receipt of this letter and acceptability. Thanking you, we are, Truly yours, Folkways Records, Marian Distler.

Keynote Distribution Co.[25] (Cleveland, OH.)

The relationship with Keynote was short-lived. Beginning in May of 1960 following an offer from Folkways through Larry Sockell, they began to cover the territory of Northern Ohio with the occasional order from Pennsylvania and Indiana (60-035). However, only nine months later, a memo to Moe from Larry suggested that "If you're determined to change Cleveland I believe Duncan Sales will be our best bet. Note list of lines and they have 4 salesmen (Keynote is one (1) man). Advise Keynote of termination with a copy of letter to Shelly Haims and myself that we may know of the change" (61-013).

Two days later, on 24 February 1961, Moe sent Keynote a letter terminating their distribution agreement. The overall reasons for the termination appear to be simply poor performance on the part of Keynote.

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[25] P. O. Box 5366. Cleveland OH.

Laredy Record Distribution[26] (Newark, NJ)

It is not clear what kind of arrangement existed between Folkways and Laredy, but it was certainly not acceptable to Folkways. Marian certainly points the finger at Laredy when she wrote in November 1957 (57-038.1):

As it must be clear to you by now, our business has not increased or developed and the only negative result has been the freezing of the whole Jersey territory. For our mutual benefit we believe that we should terminate our business relationship. Please consider this registered letter formal notification.

If this letter served as official notice, the second letter that followed only seven weeks later can be read in a couple of different ways. The one long sentence that comprises the letter ends with the instruction, "please be advised that as of January 1, 1958 we can no longer permit you to act as authorized exclusive distributors of Folkways Records in the area you cover" (57-038.2). It is not clear, given the pointed nature of the first letter, if the second letter is merely a re-affirmation of the termination of the distribution agreement. The inclusion of 'authorized exclusive distributors' suggests that perhaps in the time between the letters some agreement was reached that Laredy would carry Folkways but that there would be no exclusivity to the arrangement and any other distribution deals would be fair game. In either event, these letters represent the last that Laredy is mentioned in the archival files.

Leslie Distributors/Distribution[27] (E. Hartford, Conn; New England?)

The details of the arrangement preceding the single letter in the archives are unknown. Indeed, it likely would not be worth even mentioning this particular case were it not for the contents of the single letter. It is obvious that conditions in the industry were starting to get to Moe and that relationships between Folkways artists and competing companies were starting to cause problems. The letter, though short, is pointed:

Enclosed please find your order which we cannot accept. For your information Pete Seeger is now a Columbia recording artist; Ewan MacColl, Peggy Seeger, R. B. Stedham, Jean Ritchie are on Prestige and Memphis Slim is now on Verve; and all because organizations such as yours do (did) not see fit to merchandise artists that Folkways discovered so that other companies can and do pick up cheaply and get the benefit of Folkways' innovations of finding good talent (61-033).

Therefore, as of July 15th, we are terminating our relationship.

The letter itself is dated 15 July 1961, so the termination was effective immediately. It might also be suggested that this particular distributor was likely not very productive anyway. Though the order itself is not available, for Moe to respond as he did it would

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[26] 46 Green St. Newark, NJ.

[27] 477 Park Ave. East Hartford, Conn. The address refers to 'Leslie Distr. of N. E.' It is not clear but it is likely to be 'Leslie Distributors/distribution of New England'.

likely have been from someone not familiar with changes in the Folkways catalogues and therefore not someone who frequently placed orders.

Lesco Distribution Co.[28] (Philadelphia, PA)

An even shorter lived arrangement came and went with Lesco Distribution. Following an offer of distribution[29] in late May (60-033, 60-037), a letter on 1 June 1960 by Larry Sockell to Ed Cohn of Lesco offered a June incentive to help launch the line as "Moe Asch of Folkways just called to tell me that he was pleased to have you represent his line, and that he wished to do all he can to help you get started" (60-041). Less than two weeks later, Larry began to express some concern about the fact that Lesco had not placed any orders. Larry was clearly concerned that "Unless you do a reasonably good job on Folkways, this will be a serious reflection on my judgment of having selected you as a representative. Therefore, for our mutual benefit start hustling Folkways and get some orders for us!" (60-043).

Less than six months later, Larry sent a letter informing Ed Cohn of the termination of the arrangement with Folkways (60-080). What is notable about the letter is its tone - cold and quite impersonal. This is noticeable both from comparison with the previous correspondence, but is also noted by Ed Cohn in a vitriolic reply to the termination (60-084). It is clear that Cohn felt the termination both unjustified and insulting in its tone. Cohn closes his reply by stating

> In the future, I warn you again, if you know what is good for you, never mention anything about me regarding credit, personnel, or in fact, anything pertaining to Lesco Distributors, unless you have a pretty damn good lawyer and lots of money to pay him.

It is not clear in either the initial letters or the reply by Cohn exactly what the grounds for the termination were. The termination letter closes with the explanation that "This action is deeply regretted, but it is felt that Folkways will benefit from the changeover to a distributor who has the normal compliment of sales personnel, and covers the Philadelphia market area with greater regularity" (60-080). While this sounds relatively straight forward, I am not necessarily convinced that such steps were warranted in less than six months from the beginning of distributorship. Indeed, given the good humour in Cohn's initial letter of interest to Larry ("I personally have known this label [Folkways], plus Moe

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[28] 17 So. 21st St. Philadelphia, PA.

[29] A slightly odd line appears in the first letter to Lesco: "Along with the new trend to establish sales representatives in many areas in lieu of distributors..." This is the only reference to this shift, and though it does appear to have been implemented through Larry Sockell, the documentation is simply not clear enough to make a full distinction between the two differing types of distribution.

Asch, for many years. I distributed his Asch and Disc labels. Ask him if he wants any 78 RPM Asch records back?" (60-037)), the rapid termination seems even more peculiar.

Lifetime Recordings[30] (Rochester, NY)

The relationship between Moe and Lifetime was one that seemed to show some promise with respect to some innovative marketing to sell Folkways recordings. The main issue at hand was that of consignment. Consignment deals are obviously much better for the dealers because they do not have to invest in the stock that they sell - only merchandise it. However, for Folkways (or any record company) it is much riskier because of the possibility of returns from the dealers. In response to a request for consignment records, Moe wrote back to L. W. Osband that, "We cannot, because our records are not of the pop type....People generally buy Folkways because they have heard about them and they are interested in a specific item - it would be impossible for a store to carry over 450 items" (58-021). Moe nonetheless appears open to any suggestions for rack merchandising that Lifetime may have.

Osband follows up on this possibility with an interesting solution to the problem of risk. After discussions with several of his dealers, Osband suggested an arrangement where dealers would buy a certain number of recordings of their choice in exchange for a an equal number of slower-moving product on consignment. Moe was quite interested in this kind of arrangement, but was understandably nervous about too many dealers being involved in the initial test of the idea (58-022.1, 58-022.2).

This particular type of plan did not seem to work for Lifetime as only two months after the initial plan was suggested, Moe wrote to Osband to say that while the relationship was good, the sales were not acceptable and that a different distributor was found to cover the area (58-027.1). The response by Osband was understandably surprised by the sudden change of distributorships. What is most interesting, however, is that Osband points directly at the conflict that seemed inherent in the ehtire Folkways project. Osband states in his reply letter that:

> I don't want to resort to sour grapes, but must say that frankly speaking, your products are not those that have public appeal. Every order we ever wrote, were special orders placed by customers with our dealers. There was not one dealer that we call on that wanted to stock any of your records, and how a distributor that will stock your records expects to change this general attitude on the part of the customer, is beyond me....we have salesmen, we ship and we bill, but cannot do the impossible. (58-027.2).

What is curious is that in the May letter Osband states that he 'discussed the matter again with several of our dealers' and that they would be 'happy to purchase outright'

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[30] 314 South Goodman St. Rochester, New York. Attn: L. W. Osband.

records if the consignment deal was allowed. Moe seemed willing to go along with this arrangement. Then in July Osband reports that 'There was not one dealer that we call on that wanted to stock any of your records'. It seems from this that there were prudent reasons for changing distributorships. To their credit, in 1961 Osband tried to get some distributorship rights back, this time to distribute to Canada. Fortunately, Folkways had Sam Gesser working out of Montreal and did not need another distributor (61-039).

Lyric Sales, Inc.[31] (Los Angeles, CA)

There is not very much to say about this company. There brief correspondence does point out, however, that the institutional market was still working for Folkways in the late sixties. Lyric, as a distributor specifically to schools, was trying to get information about the Scholastic/Folkways catalog. The Los Angeles distributor of Folkways (listed as Pep Record Sales) did not have any information about the new catalogues (66-008.1, 66-008.2). This is telling because it appears that many of the smaller distributors and dealers were overlooked when many of the changes were implemented at Folkways. This is particularly true in the confusion that followed the Scholastic deal with Folkways.

Modern Distributing Co., Inc.[32] (Southern California).

Despite little corroborative documentation, the single letter of preliminary contract (60-004) is very informative in setting out what could be characterized as a standard sort of distribution arrangement for Folkways Records. In reply to a letter of 4 January 1960 appointing Modern Distributing the sole distributorship in the southern California area, Modern set out the terms that it wanted Folkways to outline in a letter contract 'to avoid any infraction'. Notations on the letter suggest that this was done. The terms, quoted from the letter, are as follows:

1. Modern Distributing Co., Inc. is the distributor for Folkways Records, the area of Southern California - North to San Jose, south to Mexican Border.
2. That it is agreed that credit will be issued for damaged or defective merchandise.
3. Credit will be allowed for promotion for the benefit of Folkways Records.
4. Terms 2% - 30 days and freight prepaid.
5. 30 Day written notice sent to Modern Distributing Co., Inc. in the event of a change in distribution and all merchandise returned at such time to Folkways will be paid for by certified check within 15 days upon receipt of merchandise, said payment to be the exact amount Modern paid for merchandise, and return freight to be paid by Folkways Records.

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[31] P.O.Box 20707, Los Angeles, CA.

[32] No address listed.

Music Merchants, Inc.[33] (Detroit, MI).

January 1961 saw the return of the Music Merchants as Folkways distributors. It is not known why the original agreement was terminated, although it was likely due to non-profitability. In a letter confirming the change in distribution from Aurora to Music Merchants, Marvin Jacobs adds that 'It's nice to be associated with you again and this time we can look forward to a long and mutually profitable relationship' (61-005). No other references to this arrangement are known.

The Penny Co.[34] (Boston, MA)

Another smart distribution plan was presented to John Penny of The Penny Co. by Larry Sockell in 1961 (61-048). In an effort to increase sales in the Northeast without conflicting with Peter Fischler, one of Folkways' more established distributors, Larry made the following offer: Penny's salesmen would collect orders on accounts outside of Fischler's territory. The orders they collect would then be given to Fischler for shipping. Fischler would then provide an accounting to Folkways, who would provide a 12% commission to Penny for the extra orders. This arrangement does not appear to be a common one for Folkways, and it is not known to what extent it was exploited. However, it certainly appears to be a strong business plan for increasing sales while keeping risk to everyone involved to a minimum.

* * *

Obviously the network of distributors, dealers and retailers is much broader than those outlined above. However, the little data that is available provides a good foundation for my attempt at mapping a national distribution arrangement. At its core, the life of Folkways was centered on the health of its distribution: in its absence, few records get sold and Folkways could die. Thus, in spite of a general lack of documentation concerning distribution relationships, and that distribution for Folkways was not as efficient or successful as it might have been, the continued survival of Folkways demonstrates the functionality of this type of distribution across the record-buying world.

Foreign Distribution

The relationships that comprise the foreign market are similar in many respects to the domestic market, given that both systems of relationships are based on similar directives - the dissemination of recordings. There is, however, a distinctive shift in the construction

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[33] 3741 Woodward Ave. Detroit, MI.

[34] 16 Brighton Ave. Boston, MA.

of foreign markets compared to domestic markets based on the balance between the exploitation of specialist markets in foreign countries - the 'import' market - and the degree of impediment that was encountered in the importation of foreign goods across those borders.

There is proportionately little documentation on the rest of the non-North American market beyond that outlined above.[35] However, much of that documentation falls into one of three categories. The most straightforward are the letters that discuss matters pertaining to deals already in place. To the extent that I can fill out these arrangements, I will. However, outside of the archival material there is very little supplementary information available. The second category are the solicitation letters sent to Folkways from various distributors. These documents are of considerable interest because they often outline which territories Folkways is or is not being distributed in at a given time. It is important to note that they implicitly support the contention that Folkways reputation was starting to grow and to gain the attention of those interested in wider markets.

In the third category are the legal documents. This is a particularly interesting group primarily because it focuses on the importance of controlling one's product even though it may be in a market that is perceived to be very distant and unconnected. This final category is of particular importance here, as it is throughout this work, because it provides the connection between the operation of the production/distribution network and the politico-legal structures within which it operates. Oddly enough, it often works both for and against Folkways depending on the circumstance. There is no doubt that the legal wrangling is an important part of the control of both recorded product and the raw materials - artists, tapes and masters - that circulate within the recording industry.

The following discussion on foreign markets is divided into four sections. The first two sections cover in some detail the arrangement between Folkways and Transatlantic Records and with Topic Records, respectively. The combination of relatively well-documented relationships with the fact that both companies were based in England, helps to paint a good picture of many of the issues faced both in England and continental Europe. The third section deals with many of the issues that confronted Moe during his efforts to distribute records in Germany. Finally , the last section outlines some of the other, less documented distribution relationships that Moe had in other parts of Europe.

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[35] There does exist one list that sets out foreign distributors with their corresponding rates in either dollars or percentage (see Appendix 9). This information is added in an appendix due to the lack of other supporting documentation, including a date for the list. An associated set of financial documents lists the commissions paid to various distributors. They are included as supplementary information only. See Appendix 10.

Transatlantic Records

The origins of the contracted dealings between Folkways and Transatlantic Records are found at the beginning of the 1960s.[36] Negotiations appear to have begun with a request to Moe from Transatlantic Records to consider distributing European product in the US. In a letter of 5 September 1961 (61-037), Moe does express interest in an arrangement of some kind, but 'Due to the fact that there is a 15% duty and a 10% excise tax, it is impossible to merchandise European made records and sell them to distributors and then to dealers in the United States.'[37] Moe then outlined an arrangement that he had developed with another record company in Europe, Jupiter Records, of importing the tapes and pressing the records in the US and paying a fee for the tapes and a per unit price for the license.[38]

By spring 1963 Folkways and Transatlantic Records were negotiating an agreement in which Transatlantic Records would act as a licensee of Folkways (63-011). The first contract only allowed that 'Folkways agree[s] to grant the agents the sole rights to distribute and sell Folkways Records in Great Britain...' for a period of two years with automatic renewal pending mutual satisfaction with the arrangement (X-021). On 16 April 1964, however, Transatlantic Records broadened their arrangement with Folkways to gain 'the exclusive right to manufacture, release, sell, distribute and promote records containing the material on the attached schedule'[39] (64-016, 64-028).

One of the clear concerns in both the contractual agreement and in implementation was the efforts of Transatlantic to promote Folkways. While Moe made some efforts to help out Transatlantic (he included 16 records free in one order because he thought they might be marketable (63-020)), it was clearly up to Transatlantic to pick up the promotional

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[36] In 1960 Folkways was dealing with at least two other distributors in England: Agate & Co. and Colletts. In two letters to Moe from Ken Lindsay of Agate & Co., he expresses frustration at the efforts of Colletts to become the exclusive distributor of Folkways in England and force Agate & Co. to cease direct orders from Folkways and instead to order through Colletts (60-070, 60-074). Clearly the deal with Colletts was either altered or terminated by the time the arrangement with Transatlantic was made.

[37] Moe makes several references to problems with the increasing cost and inconvenience to doing business between England and the US. See 57-034, 60-016, 60-070.

[38] The arrangement with Jupiter was: 500 records at 25 cents each up front, 25 cents per record for all records after the original 500, and Folkways pays about £10 for all tapes. Folkways makes their owns covers and reprints the notes (61-037). 1962 saw some strain to this relationship with the tough economic climate in the US and poor sales overall (62-010). The relationship continued into 1965 with Moe assuring Jupiter that the Scholastic/Folkways deal would not harm them and would, he thought, improve Jupiter's sales via Folkways (65-036).

[39] The list on the attached schedule is very short: 'Cisco Houston Sings Folksongs, Pete Seeger / Big Bill Broonzy Concert (2 Records), Art Tatum, Memphis Slim, Jazz At Town Hall (2 Records), Brownie McGhee and Sonny Terry, Sing with Seeger, New Lost City Ramblers (Capitol)'.

ball. In a letter of 14 October 1963 (63-026)[40], Nathan Joseph, director of Transatlantic Records, outlined the degree to which they were pursuing promotion on a set of 17 selections (see Appendix 11), in addition to the full Folkways line. These efforts included:

- 15 000 catalogs with emphasis on the 17 title set, sent to 'every dealer in this country', as well as every branch of the trade and made available to the general public.
- Advertising in the major trade magazines Gramophone Record Retailer and Musical Industry News; folk magazines Sing and Spin, and concert programs at folk shows at Royal Festival Hall, London.
- Setting up a booth at the British Gramophone Record Retailers Association annual Conference and Trade Fair and the Midland Dealers Trade Fair.
- Setting up window displays at the shops of several leading record dealers.

Such an effort was certainly in Moe's favor. By the 1960s, Folkways' reputation was starting to work for it overseas. This is, of course, in conjunction with the rise in interest in American culture generally in Britain, particularly in Pete Seeger, as well as the local interest in Peggy Seeger and Ewan MacColl. Certainly their connection with the folk scene helped the interest in American folk records. In this respect, Folkways would seem to be a relatively lucrative distributorship to have in England - Transatlantic Records agreed. Nathan Joseph noted in the 14 October 1963 letter, 'All this, together with the mailing out of thousands of your own catalogues, has I can assure you cost us a good deal more than the allowance which we are to receive under our contractual agreement.'[41]

A second difficulty that comes to light with the Folkways/Transatlantic agreement is the sorting out of copyrights and payments. This is certainly not a problem unique to this arrangement,[42] but some of the details are of interest. In response to Nathan Joseph's request (63-022) for some advice from Moe on how to address the problem of payment of 'outrageous' copyright fees on importation to the Mechanical Copyright Protection Society (MCPS), Moe responds:

> This has not yet been resolved internationally. The record industry in the U.S. has been working with the federal government to come to some international agreement. All record companies have this difficulty.
>
> The MCPS is naturally trying to collect for themselves while we have to pay over here. The contracts with the publishers in the U.S. have a clause that states Royalty shall be paid on records manufactured. This has been upheld by our courts in the cases of non-payment of royalty. The compulsory payment...this is Supreme Court ruling...which states that the manufacturer is to pay and the seller is liable for at least 2¢ per record made, per selection plus 3 times the rate as a fine.

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[40] An interesting point about this letter: it is addressed to Sam Gesser at the Folkways New York address. Sam was a long-time Canadian Folkways distributor in Montreal during this time. At about this time, Moe asked him to come help out with Folkways. He was in New York for a short period, but did not stay (SG-1).

[41] There was also the accounting for the ongoing errors on Folkways part: '...one last thing which we have not so far included in our account with you - the cost of at least four telephone calls, at £4. per call, to try to clear up errors in documentation by your staff.'

[42] Moe also seemed to be having problems with other licensing and sales arrangements in England - for example, A. P. Watt and Son, London (65-011), and Dobell's Jazz Record Shop, London (65-032), respectively.

All this means that in case of non-payment the Society will have a hard time collecting the fee as manufactured in the US and as imported to Great Britain. Naturally they want this fee - what I call double taxation. The more you resist this pressure by showing them that the US law is as stated above the better chance you have of this being the accepted practice....

I would however show my letter to your attorneys. And have them get in touch with people who are specia[redacted]n this field of international intrigue.

[redacted] letter of 4 June 1964 (64-029), however, Joseph asks for a price reduction of 40[redacted]mport costs 'to compensate for the copyrights which we are now going to have to pay.' On the other hand, Transatlantic Records was hoping to offer a little in return. Later in the same letter, Joseph closes by telling Moe, 'We are at present pressing claims with the B.B.C. and four of the I.T.V. companies for mechanical copyright fees on Folkways records....we hope to have some results for you within the next three weeks or so.'

The final reference to copyright in the context of the Transatlantic Records documentation is an interesting one. A letter of 18 August 1969 (69-014) from Joseph begins: 'With reference to yours of August 12th 1969 and the Bob Dylan recordings'. To the best of my knowledge, Moe never did any recordings of Bob Dylan under his real name. There were, however, recordings under the pseudonym Blind Boy Grunt. This may have been the material referred to here. Joseph's letter continues:

Having reconsidered the whole matter, we feel it's too risky. Firstly, if these tracks were recorded during Dylan's contractual obligation for CBS, I don't want to cross CBS and secondly you say that the composers rate on the compositions is to be paid through you to Broadside Magazine New York. Unfortunately these compositions are copyright to Warners Music in Britain and I certainly wouldn't like to cross them in a copyright battle. The establishment giants win again!

Another facet of the relationship between Transatlantic Records and Folkways was the launch of the discount label Xtra by Transatlantic in the early part of 1964 (64-024). As has often been reported, Moe would not discount Folkways recordings at retail. As a result, if Transatlantic wanted to release Folkways material as part of a discount line, it would have to be through license.[43] At about the same time, Joseph also warns that the shift in England to a Labour Party government could lead to restrictions on 'unnecessary' imports (64-056).

At the end of 1964, Joseph had almost finalized further licensing deals of Xtra (Folkways) material to major companies in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa (64-060). However, Moe's activity at home started to complicate things for Transatlantic Records. Moe announced that he had made deals with both MGM and Scholastic (dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 6). At the same time that Moe was wondering how Transatlantic might propose getting Folkways into Benelux (65-030) and later into South

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[43] The license agreement sounds very similar to the one reported for Jupiter Records *supra*. Transatlantic paid $100 advance on royalties and presumably a flat rates for tapes. The amount is not known.

Africa (68-027), there was much confusion about licensing material through Xtra into Spain.[44]

After Joseph asked Moe about the deal, Moe replied that 'it would be detrimental to Scholastic if I made a deal with you on the above.[45] Scholastic has an arrangement with SONY-PLAY (sic) in Spain. They are issuing Folkways Records' (69-018). Joseph then replied on 31 October 1969 (69-019),

> This is to inform you that we obviously have the same agent in Spain. Our agent is Discos Sonoplay...and are fairly obviously the same as the one you mention in your letter as Sony-Play. This being the case, it is easy to see why they would like to add some of the excellent early material which you licensed to us, to the material they are already getting from Folkways/Scholastic.
>
> ...since the circumstances are now somewhat clearer, they might reconsider their decision...

Though my consideration of the Folkways/Transatlantic relationship ends here, the agreement appears to have endured for at least a couple of years into the early 1970s.

Topic Records

The relationship with Topic Records pre-dates that with Transatlantic, but it does not appear to have been quite as involved - certainly there is a lack of correspondence to indicate this. The Topic relationship began in the late 1950s. Letters in 1959 (59-030, 59-034) indicate that there is some unhappiness on Moe's part with respect to the issuing of Folkways records without having been paid the agreed $50 per recording by Topic. Topic claimed this as a book-keeping oversight and it did not appear to significantly damage the agreement, but it certainly seemed to foreshadow a relationship that never seemed to be particularly positive.

In terms of documentation, there is very little between 1960 and mid-1965. At this point, the relationship between the two companies was clearly coming to an end. Part of the difficulties appear to be Topic's conflict with English taxation and the inability to send Moe's royalties gross. The double taxation dilemma undoubtedly tied up a considerable amount of money (perhaps over £1000) (65-031, 65-035). Finally, however, Topic announced that it had picked up Caedmon Record's *Folk Songs of Britain* series and had begun to clear out their remaining Folkways titles. This clearly upset Moe. At the conclusion of a letter 16 December 1965 (65-064), Gary Sharp of Topic writes, 'I don't

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[44] Interestingly, it was because of government import restrictions that the licensing deal arose for production of recordings within Spain.

[45] With respect to direct deals on Folkways material that was now controlled by Scholastic, there did not seem to be any difficulties. In a 1969 letter to Nathan Joseph of Transatlantic, Scholastic offers Joseph five titles that 'Insofar as rights to these five records are held by Moses Asch and Folkways/Scholastic, they shall be extended to Transatlantic, for the duration of the Asch/Scholastic distribution agreement which expires on August 31, 1971' (69-001).

think you can complain about us selling off at a cheap rate as this is the normal trade practice. Furthermore, I understand that this is what you did with the Topic records you had in stock when you wanted to clear them.'

Earlier in the letter, however, Sharp does try to explain the situation and express his confusion about the whole matter:

> With the easy availability of Folkways recordings in England[46] now it did appear that we were no longer fulfilling a useful function in this direction as we had so little of it, and consequently we decided to delete the material which was in the Topic catalogue....
>
> I have been trying to understand what you mean when you speak of a 'personal vendetta'. On reading some of the correspondence which has taken place between us, I can only think that you are referring to your previous misunderstandings which I have attempted to correct....I regret that you have never troubled to call on me on your last two occasions in England so that we could have a talk together to clear any such misunderstandings....
>
> As I look through the old correspondence I think of how much help you could have been to Topic in its early struggles instead of leaving us to pull ourselves up by our own shoe-strings. There was of course no obligation on your part to do so but when I read some of your early sentiments on the identity of interests between the two labels, I feel rather sad about it.

GERMANY

The other area of Europe that Moe seemed to have a complicated set of relationships was in Germany. There were two basic problems that arose out of these relationships, beginning in the mid-1950s. The first involved obtaining material for release on Folkways and subsequent difficulties with licenses. In one case, Moe obtained tapes from recording engineer ('toningenieur') Walter Hennig working for Tondienst Hamburg (63-001). Hennig supplied material for what became 2-12" set FE 4520 - Music from Italy[47].

The difficulty comes from the fact that Hennig discovered that this material was being distributed beyond the boundaries of the original licensing agreement that he had made with Folkways. In a letter from Hennig's lawyers of 10 January 1963 (63-001), they point out that in a 1955 agreement, Folkways had the right to distribute Hennig's material only in North America and Japan.[48] The letter states in part:

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[46] There is ample evidence that this is through Transatlantic. Sharp and Nathan Joseph of Transatlantic had communicated with each other on a number of occasions.

[47] This is known for sure. Hennig may have also provided the material for 6915: Folk Music of Italy and 4437: Flamenco Music of Andalusia (58-010).

[48] The original contract states: "...in so far as your rights and interests are concerned you have no objection to our manufacturing, advertising, publicizing, selling, licensing or otherwise using, controlling or disposing of, in any fields of use throughout North and South America and Japan..." (55-008).

As you have no right according to the agreement to import to Germany and to sell here the above mentioned records No. FE 4520, you are violating the contract. By your attitude the contract has been so heavily offensed that my client sees himself forced to cancel immediately for this most important reason the whole contract. As you know quite well, even in the past you did not respect the agreement, so that my client has no more confidence in you and that he must cancel the contract. Therefore you have no longer a right to produce and sell any longer in any country of the world my client's reproductions and I ask you herewith to stop production and selling immediately.

Moe's response to this was to state that a mutual verbal amendment had been made of the contract and that he would wait and talk to Hennig himself on Hennig's next trip to New York. In a letter of 17 January 1963 (63-004) to Hennig, Moe points out that 'please be advised that there was a mutual understanding on the version of the contract with Mr. Paul Lazare[49] when he was here in our office.' In a letter to one of his German distributors, Electrola Gesellschaft m.b.H.[50], he also expressed the same belief that the contract had been amended and that a meeting with Hennig would 'clarify the situation' (63-005). In what I would take to be something of an act of good faith, Moe did ask Electrola to cease sale of the album until the matter could be settled. He did add, however, that 'Since you bought only about 10 records in the last year or so, there is really no damage as far as monetary matters are concerned.'[51]

The letters from Moe on the matter do suggest that it is all just a misunderstanding and that in fact, there was no reason to think that there was any deliberate violation of the terms of the contract.[52] Nevertheless, Hennig's lawyers reinforced the termination of the contract between Hennig and Folkways in a later letter (65-018). Moe argued in response that 'It would be a real shame to take these records off the market, even though so few records are sold each year, as they represent music of both Italy and Spain which are unusual and which are needed by anthropologists and scientists for study purposes' (65-019). The final outcome is unclear. Given that by this point the varying conflicts in this interaction were nearing eight years old, it may have just fallen to the exigencies of time.

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[49] Hennig was contracted to Paul Lazare (57-017)

[50] Needless to say, Electrola was also confused about the situation, inquiring about clarification from Folkways (63-002).

[51] Folkways and Electrola Gesellschaft m.b.H. had difficulties again in 1966-67. There were concerns that Folkways did not have permission to release material by Ernst Busch contained in Folkways' Songs of the Spanish Civil War, Vols. I and II (FH 5436, FH 5437). The details of the exchanges among the several actors will not be detailed here. Suffice it to say that is stands as a prime example of the difficulties that can occur with even the best intentioned use of material. In this case, it goes back as far as Asch's difficulties with Stinson in the 1940s (67-004).

[52] It might be said that early on there may have been considerable friction between Hennig, Lazare and indirectly, Asch. In a letter from Lazare to Moe on 3 June 1957, Lazare writes that 'Hennig, who used to do our recording work, held us up for a 100% raise in the middle of a recording session about a year and a half ago...got thrown out after the session was over and then claimed that I had promised him a long series of recordings...which I hadn't...and threatened to sue me...'(ellipsis's in original) (57-017, also 58-014)

A final note about distribution in Germany. In response to a letter from Lazare inquiring about Moe's distribution plans in Germany (58-023), Moe wrote that:

regarding German distribution we do not have an exclusive arrangement with anyone at the present time. Electrola Gesellschaft and Areg both order from us and their business amounts to about $500 a month (5,000 to 6,000 records a year). I would not care to open up a third distributor on an exclusive basis without getting a guarantee and commitment for at least that amount of business. However, since neither of the two are exclusive Folkways Records distributors we can sell them. Prices are $2.00 per 10" and $2.50 per 12" and terms are FOB NY, c.o.d.

EUROPE

There are a few documents that illustrate the point made in the introduction to this section: namely, that Folkways' reputation was starting to spread globally, and that this reputation was having an impact on the interest expressed by various companies to distribute Folkways. The first are documents from 1957 (57-002, 57-025) that quite clearly see Folkways as a useful ally in the dissemination of folk music globally. The first, from Rose Records of Gand, Belgium, begins a letter of 14 January 1957:

We take pleasure in establishing contact between our two firms I view of a possible business cooperation.

Your company is known as the only great company which distributes folk music throughout the world. On account of this we wish to get into touch with you because we have released a sort of record you might be able to use on a large basis: a typical old Flemish carnival medley with numbers at least 50 years old...

We send you a sample of this record under separate cover. If you are interested, kindly advise us and we shall send you the mother matrices or tapes for you to lease and issue under your label, providing a royalty agreement.[53]

The second letter (7 August 1957) is a follow-up to a meeting between Moe and L.P. Mabel of Henry M. Snyder and Co., Inc. - 'Export representatives for American book publishers' - regarding other possible export markets. Interestingly, Mabel notes in the letter that, though they have done a little work with recordings, 'we do not know just what we could do with your excellent records.' Importantly, Mabel points to the 'possibility of our representing you in countries in the export market other than Mexico, Belgium[54], Holland[55], and Switzerland, where you already have other contractual arrangements'.

The final letter is from Mike Glasser at Transglobal Music Co., Inc. of New York. Dated much later (12 October 1965 (65-047)), Glasser is pretty blunt:

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[53] This quote illustrates both the industry standard types of licensing/royalty agreement, but also the kind of material that was seen to be appropriate for Folkways.

[54] It is not clear if this refers to the previous discussion of Rose Records of Belgium, or whether it is a different distributor/importer.

[55] The little evidence available for this arrangement is a letter dated 5 December 1957 (57-039) in which Les Editions Internationales Basart, Inc. of Amsterdam. This letter asks for 20 copies of FEP 1 'on our account', then pursues a previous request for 45 rpm records: 'If you do not have many of these records yet it would be most important for this territory to start such a production immediately.'

I have spoken to you several times by phone in regard to acquiring your product for the Scandinavian area. I would like to know what price your product is available for per album and the shipping cost to Sweden.

The Scandinavian territory includes Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland, and Greenland. If Denmark is available, we would also be interested in acquiring rights for your product in Denmark....

The reference to Denmark is telling. A couple of years previously, Moe had been involved in some legal problems revolving around the unlicensed release of Folkways material by Dansk Grammofonpladeforlag, Copenhagen, that they received from Stinson Records. In the first notification on 15 June 1962 (62-019), Moe's lawyer Harold Orenstein informed K.E. Knudson that Moe had found out about a record released in Europe by Dansk ('Storyville Blues Anthology, Vol. 7' SLP 124). The recording contained material recorded by Leadbelly and had printed on the jacket liner 'A Stinson Master'.

As Orenstein states later in this letter:

If, in fact, you purported to acquire the rights contained in the aforesaid album from Stinson Records, we call to your attention the fact that Stinson had no authority from Folkways Records, nor does it itself possess legal title or property in the master records referred to above. The unlicensed master records are as follows:
TALKING AND PREACHING [TALKING, PREACHING][56]
BRING ME A LIL WATER LILY [BRING ME A LITTLE WATER, SILVY]
JULIE AND JOHNSON [not listed]
LINE 'EM
WHOA, BACK, BUCK [WHOE BACK, BUCK]
COW COW YICKY YACKY YEA [COW COW YICKY YICKY YEA]
OUT IN THE WESTERN PLAINS
GREEN CORN
JOHN HARDY
BIG FAT WOMAN
MEETING AT THE BUILDING
BOTTLE UP AND GO [BORROW LOVE AND GO]
WE SHALL WALK THROUGH THE VALLEY [not listed]
NOTED RIDER [NO GOOD RIDER]

A letter shortly after, 29 September 1962 (62-033) Moe admonishes Dansk (Knudsen) directly for not having made payments to Folkways for the lost royalties on the records that had already been released, as well as their failure to address the legal issues through Moe's lawyers. Moe is particularly upset at what seems like a weak attempt to get around determining ownership:

On volume 7, SLP, which you have on Storyville, you will find the marking, 'Recording date unknown'. You know that in spite of this legend the recording was made after my contract with Stinson expired. In your program notes you state that the recordings were made in 1942 and in 1946. In 1945 I have a signed court order by a Supreme Court Justice in the State of New York forbidding Stinson records to use my name or my assets.

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[56] In a later letter to Jack Kall at Stinson Records (23 January 1963) the recordings are listed again. The bracketed text indicates differences or omissions in the titles between the first and second letters.

The final letter in this series is from Moe's lawyers to Jack Kall of Stinson Records on 23 January 1963 (63-006). Of course, the letter follows much the same pattern as the previous two directed at Dansk. The letter reads in part:

Dansk has advised us that your company purported to license certain rights to it to release these recordings. These performances were first recorded by Lead Belly for our client after March of 1946, at which time your company no longer had any rights whatsoever to release Folkways masters.

Notwithstanding this fact, you have purported to grant rights in master recordings in which you have no rights....

Unless we hear from you within ten (10) days after your receipt of this letter, we shall have no alternative but to take all steps which the law allows to protect our client's property rights.

Though this is a somewhat *pro forma* kind of letter, it does most clearly highlight the notion that what is involved is the protection of property rights. It must be said, however, with respect to many cases of unlicensed releases like the one above, that the punishment is often worth the infraction. In the Dansk case, it may have been something of a fluke that Moe found out at all. Had Moe not found out, the release may have continued to make money for both Dansk and Stinson leaving Folkways uncompensated. Furthermore, according to these and other cease and desist orders, the standard procedure is for the offending companies to pay back royalties on the released material and to stop production. It would appear that even in this circumstance it would likely still be a profitable proposition for the offenders. The extent to which this may be an accurate supposition is unknown, but the practice certainly is prevalent enough to question the deterrence effects of the legal consequences.

By the 1960s, a couple of deals had also been pursued with Italian companies. The first was the collaboration in the release of an Italian edition of 'The Epic of the Far West' by Mondadori Publishing (New York and Milan). In appreciation for the efforts of Folkways, the company even presented Folkways with a parchment scroll that read:

To Folkways Records and Service Corporation of New York who with constant and disinterested action and dedicated effort collaborates to spread in the world the culture, ideas and civilization of America. Arnoldo Mondadori publisher expresses his grateful thanks for its contribution to the success of the work by Piero Pieroni "The Epic of the West" published in Milan the 7 of December 1961.

Moe responded by acknowledging the award: "It is gestures such as yours that make it worthwhile to issue the type of material we do. We really appreciate it."

An interesting subtext to this exchange is the addition of a request following the announcement of the award for licensing agreement from Folkways to publish an edition in French and German, with the same fee - $100 per edition 'for the use of the same record'. After gracefully acknowledging the award, Moe gives permission for the licenses. While I am sure the award was well-intended, it does give pause to consider the timing of the additional request (62-006).

The second Italian company, Fratelli Fabbri Editori, was interested in licensing Folkways material for release on 7-inch EP's that would be included in 'magazine-type publications' sold either door-to-door or through mail order. There is not a lot of information rounding out the details of this deal, or even if it was ever finalized,[57] but a letter addressed 'Dear Sirs' closes with a thank-you 'for the cooperation you will give to Mr. Prosperio who plans to reach a definitive agreement with you during his visit in the States in the next few days.' (67-015).

Relationships with companies in France appeared to have been more extensive, but were nonetheless still quite confusing. By the late '50s, Folkways had been importing and distributing the Encyclopedia Sonore line of the Hachette Company (59-029). However, in a letter to Hachette, Moe is pointed about the problems:

> In recent months there has been a decided change in our attitude for handling your records in this country. We have found that the Federal Government is taxing us for the importation of the records and this excise tax of 10% of whatever monies we get is in addition to the duty that we have to pay as well as other such expenses. It becomes impossible for us to break even with imported records.
>
> Since, if we were to continue selling Encyclopedia Sonore records in America, we have to publish textual material to accompany the records, it would be more feasible if we were to make our own masters and press records here in the States. If you will let me know in what areas you have little or no sales, we could consider working with you as we have just outlined.[58]

An exchange with Hugus Panassie of the Hot Club de France (Paris) in 1960 outlines other difficulties concerning distribution of records in France. The initial request from Panassie to Folkways was for records to be reviewed in the 'Bulletin du hot club de France'. However, Panassie claimed the problem was that 'your records are never issued in France despite their interest' (60-012).[59] Shortly after, Moe sent the records, but noted to Panassie that "Perhaps it would be of interest to you to know that Ricordi has contracted with us for records to be released in France, but so far they have not shown any interest in Jazz. You might be able to persuade them along these lines' (60-017).

A reply by Panassie soon after indicates that not only Panassie did not know about the Ricordi deal[60], but that Panassie had thought a deal had been made between Folkways and the 'President' label: "At least, that's what one of the heads of the 'President' told me, and I even remember telling him to hurry and release one of your BIG BILL LP's for the

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[57] There were a lot of other deals going on at this time, including the Scholastic/Folkways deal that put limitations on the types of licensing that Moe could pursue.

[58] Payment would be at a 35¢ royalty per record.

[59] The request includes: Lightnin' Hopkins (FS 3822), Brownie McGhee/Sonny Terry (FA 2327), Memphis Slim (FG 3524), Sonny Terry w/ Sticks McGhee (FA 2369), Hilton Jefferson, V.1 (FJ 2292), and James P. Johnson (FG 3540)

[60] It may never have come to fruition. This is the only reference I have seen to this company.

first anniversary of Bill's death. But nothing materialized. Funny people, those 'President' guys....' (60-022).[61]

Likely the largest cross-licensing deal that Folkways entered into in France was with Chant du Monde. There is not much in the way of extant documentation, but the existence of release lists (see Appendix 12) and a number of recordings in the Folkways Archive supports significant, though finite, activity. Marilyn Averett accounted for the variety of Chant du Monde material in the Folkways archives by noting during a 1991 interview (AV-1) that:

> ...Chant du Monde went out of business as far as I knew and they were supposed to return to Mr. Asch all this stuff and they said they would .... Those are the ones that Mr. Asch originally sent to them and they were sending them back to us.

Legal Constraints

Within a given mode of production - particularly so within the capitalist mode of production - law and legislative order is a very important factor in considering the operational limitations inherent in an industry. This has, I think, been amply demonstrated throughout the previous discussion of distribution, particularly with respect to ownership, copyrights, and conditions of importation. Though it is on a more analytical level, the following section concerning taxation and contracts forms an important corollary to the mechanics of production and distribution.

Taxation

The importance of taxation as an issue has already been alluded to within the data. More directly, however, the system of taxation implemented in the United States during Moe's tenure as a producer of recordings was one that was very difficult to manage. Certain forms of tax that were applicable to Folkways do not seem to have been particularly troublesome - income tax for himself and employees, New York City municipal taxes, various use taxes for shipping and production items. However, there is solid evidence that the implementation of a manufacturers excise tax was punitive on the operation of Folkways, and was likely punitive to other small record companies as well.

In general the excise tax was implemented in the United States to tax manufacturers for merchandise produced. As stated in the 1946 printing of the regulations, "In general, the tax attaches when the title to the article sold passes from the manufacturer to a purchaser", and that "Generally, title passes upon delivery of the article to the purchaser or

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[61] This may well have been a fabrication on the part of the 'President' label. There is to date no evidence of any contact between Folkways and a company of that name.

to a carrier for the purchaser." Furthermore, and this was most troublesome for the recording industry, "In the case of sale on credit, it is immaterial whether or not the purchase price is actually collected."(U.S. Treasury Department 1946: Sec. 316.5).

The implications of this regulation on the cash flow within Folkways was tremendous. As recordings were produced and sent to various distributors and dealers within the distribution network, payment for these shipments was due on credit (typically 30, 60, or 90 days). According to the regulations, this constitutes a sale and the tax must be calculated and remitted to the government. However, there is something of a double-penalty occurring. In the first case, the tax was to be paid at intervals not exceeding 30 days. If the tax payment was due on material that had been shipped, but had not yet been paid for (and may not be for another 30 or 60 days, depending on the payment schedule), then a serious accounting problem would be created. This would be especially true for a cash-strapped organization such as Folkways.

Secondly, however, there is the question of returns and exchanges - a notoriously frustrating condition given that Folkways allowed a 100% return/exchange policy to its customers. This in itself created difficulties with cash flow as it typically would tie up merchandise in the shipping/exchange/shipping process, or would simply put Folkways in a condition of owing money to be refunded on the returned merchandise. However, the tax must nonetheless be paid. Granted, there are provisions for the refunding of the paid tax (U.S. Treasury Department 1946: Sec. 316.14). However, the amount of paperwork involved, combined with the delays in processing would likely have made applying for tax refunds an unusual event (only one document suggests that was ever done (67-013)). One would suspect, especially in the case of Folkways, that most overpayments would simply be left on account to credit against other amounts owing.

An important case example of the difficulties with this type of taxation was explained by Larry Sockell (LS-1):

> I recall a number of times he'd say 'Larry, I'm going broke. I don't have enough money.' And I would have to go out and find some special account who needed and could use this type of product. ....
>
> I recall one special incident when a man in California - [Moe] would send me all over the country to meet with these people - [Moe] needed $21000 to pay his excise tax and he was desperate. I called him from California and said 'I've got a check for you for $25000 as soon as your merchandise is delivered.' He [the customer] wanted 25000 pieces and I had to sit down and spend the whole afternoon going through the catalog and writing up 200 of this, 300 of that, 500 of this copy, until it came to $25000. And sure enough, the man came up with the money. ... he was thrilled when he shipped the merchandise - he had enough of all the best sellers, the slow movers he would have maybe 50 copies - but this man wasn't interested in the slow movers. ... I gave him all the best sellers and sure enough he paid him the $25000 ... [Moe] paid his excise tax and he survived for another day.

One means of circumventing at least some of the tax burden listed in Sec. 316.25 of the regulations is through an exemption of tax on sales for export. The regulations state

that "To exempt from tax a sale for export it is necessary that two conditions be met, namely, (1) that the article be identified as having been sold *by the manufacturer* for export and (2) that it be exported in due course." Further in the same section, "The exemption provided herein is limited to sales by the manufacturer for export and is not applicable in cases where sale of taxable articles are made from a dealer's stock for export even though actually exported" (U.S. Treasury Department 1946: Sec. 316.25).

Even though a substantial number of Folkways records were exported by Moe, Folkways was nonetheless not eligible for the exemption as the recordings were not made specifically for export and labeled to reflect this. All stock was made for domestic sale, and if a foreign order came in, it was filled and shipped, thus falling under the latter qualification to the legislation. As a final insult, even in cases where Folkways might have been able to actually apply for the exportation exemption for certain orders or recordings, several letters discussed earlier illustrate the problems with importers in other countries being saddled with their own domestic import duties which would make the importation of Folkways records impracticable.

The solution to this problem was to negotiate a licensing arrangement and to ship master tapes to the partner country and have them produce Folkways recordings domestically. This had the result of effectively exempting Folkways from the excise tax, but it also limited the profit potential from sales of finished product to a payment for use and a small percentage or payment for each recordings sold by the licensee.

The other exemption available, and the only one that I am aware of that was truly of use to Moe, was the exemption for education products. If Moe could demonstrate that particular recordings were produced for, and sold to the educational market exclusively, these recordings would be exempt from the excise tax.[62] Perhaps it was coincidental that much of Moe's original intention to direct sales to educational institutions was reinforced by the provisions of the excise tax. Whether calculated or coincidental, it worked in Moe's favor, as has been illustrated throughout the data. Indeed, there is little doubt that the benefits of educational production were very clear and that whenever such benefits could be claimed, Moe would do so.

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[62] In a letter to Sidney Green of School Days Equipment Co., Los Angeles, CA., Marian Distler wrote, 'We are pleased that you have started to handle records for school distribution, and we can give you 40% discount from list from which you can deduct an additional 5% for excise purposes, if you return to us affidavits on such excise tax.' (58-040)

Contracts

The issue of contracts was also an important one for Folkways and one that I think, to some degree, has been somewhat misrepresented. Very often when an accusation of either failing to issue a contract or failing to uphold a contract is made against Moe or Folkways, there is the implicit suggestion of calculated illegality or intentional misrepresentation or bad faith dealing with respect to the partners of the contract. There have been a variety of accusations that have circulated around Folkways suggesting that Moe routinely disregarded the terms of contracts on the one hand, but aggressively pursued others when he felt he had been taken advantage of, on the other.

The information in the archive, however, suggests that Moe was in fact quite diligent concerning the creation of contracts with performers or with other companies (see Appendix 13). Without doubt, many of the documents illustrate that Moe was careful about the terms of a variety of contracts and would take care to ensure that he was being represented correctly (see, for example, 64-006, 64-007, 64-012 concerning the negotiations for the license with TROVA Industrias Musicales).

What is intriguing about the legal agreements that involve Folkways are some of the strategies that seem to have been employed to reduce obligation on the part of Folkways. This is not to contradict the suggestion made above, but to point out the possibility that in the course of entering into contractual obligations, there was nonetheless a strategy in place to ease some of the burden of administration on Folkways.

One of the best examples of this type of contract, and one that I would suspect was the most satisfactory in Moe's eyes, was a contract made between Folkways Records and Hsin Lee in October 1958 (55-014). The contract itself is short and to the point with a minimum of legalese. The contract reads in total:

> This is a Letter Agreement between us in consideration of the mutual covenants herein contained and of the payments herein provided for services rendered by you of performances for phonograph records and/or tape recording albums of "The Saying of Confucius."
>
> You hereby give us the exclusive right to manufacture, advertise, sell, lease, license or otherwise use, control or dispose of in any fields of use throughout the world, phonograph records, tapes and matrices embodying said performances; to license or permit said records and/or tapes and matrices to be publicly played by others (including radio, television, motion pictures, concerts and places of amusement or entertainment) or re-transcribed in other mechanical forms. To use and publish and permit others to use and publish your name and picture in connection herewith and to write and publish and to permit others to write and publish articles concerning you for advertising and trade purposes in connection herewith.
>
> In consideration of the above Folkways Records will pay you a fee of $100.00 representing total and complete payment and releasing us from further obligations to you.
>
> [signed by both parties]

The reasons such a contract would be preferred are obvious. It clearly favors Moe in that it grants him total control of the finished product while at the same time releasing him

from further financial obligation to the signee. This may have been a very beneficial contract for Mr. Lee as well, as $100 in 1955 was rather more substantial than it is now. Nonetheless, it does favor Folkways - increasingly so based on sales volume.

From this point the nature of the contracts entered into by Folkways with artists and licensees became increasingly more complicated. In general, however, Moe was quick to add a consistent set of conditions to Folkways' contracts. Beyond the flat-rate payment that Moe preferred, the conditions and stipulations below came to be typical additions to the general contracts:

- royalties calculated on a per unit basis with or without conditions or additional calculations (e.g. 25¢ per copy sold domestically; 1/2 that rate for foreign sales);
- outlining geographical limitations for distribution (where the recording can be sold or not sold);
- stating who has control of the material being brought into the contract (i.e. whether it is the performer's own material or is owned by someone else and requires previous agreement);
- stating who has control of the material during the tenure of the contract and to what extent (i.e. does Folkways have exclusive rights to the material or can the artist continue to use the material?);
- noting the time duration of the agreement and under what circumstances the contract could be terminated.

Given the base conditions of modern capital, such contractual conditions are a necessity. The value that could potentially be extracted from the recordings through ownership or control place the recordings into a coveted position. Contracts, in this context, are a necessary condition of 'doing business' or functioning within such a capital-driven marketplace.

Of course, it would be naive to think that, on a day-to-day basis, the intention at Folkways was not to make the greatest profit with the least investment. However, in many respects, if control of the material - and the profits derived from such control - was the true priority within the Folkways business environment, one would expect certain things that do not seem to be in evidence. First, one would expect much greater attention to the maintenance of the contract within the overall paperwork of the office. Some effort has been spent to maintain the contracts that exist, but given the potential profit stakes concerning ownership, the level of attention focused on contracts and licenses as a whole is simply not what would be necessary to extract from them the maximum financial dividends.

Second, in the examination of many of the contracts that span several years, there is a startling variety of forms and conditions that are used to create the contracts. Some of the

contracts are clearly forms that were used on a regular basis. However, the range of contracts from simple letter agreements to elaborate corporate contracts, would suggest once again that the attention to such details was not driven by a pure profit motive. Indeed, such inattention to what many would suggest are the most crucial details of music production might lead to the opposition conclusion: that Moe entered into contracts more for a sense of security for himself and his artists than as an exploitative arrangement that would most benefit Folkways.

There is little question that the making and distributing of recordings is the core activity of a record company. As this chapter has illustrated, there are also a number of strategies that can be implemented to achieve these ends (import/export versus licensing, for example). However as important as it is to understand the construction of the relationships that make production and distribution possible, it is equally important to understand the external constraints that form the backdrop for doing business. Taxes and contracts are accepted features of the capitalist landscape, yet their impact on the development and management of business relationships must not be ignored.

CHAPTER 6

SALES AND THE IMAGE OF FOLKWAYS

Very early on, Moe was clearly concerned about how to market the types of recordings that Folkways produced. In what is literally the most calculating manner, Moe was actively involved in 1948 with an analysis of the potential first-year sales success of the Ethnic Folkways series[1] (48-030). This clearly supports a contention that Moe was both well aware of the business of producing recordings and closely involved with Folkways from the beginning.[2]

Additional documentary evidence that Moe seriously considered how to promote Folkways Records comes from an outline made on Eastern Airlines stationary in 1952 (52-003)[3]. This is an important document as it sets out not only much of what Moe was thinking at the time, but also reflects the course Folkways took in the decades following the outline.

This document indicates that Moe basically envisioned Folkways recordings being used in three areas: museums, libraries and schools. Under museums, he thought his recordings could find a place in aquariums, natural history, sciences, art, Hall of Man, and music. Likewise, libraries for children, music and languages would find Folkways records useful. Most importantly, at least according to the outline, were to be the schools - from elementary to university. Indeed, he saw uses as part of school exhibitions in musical instruments, social studies, anthropology and language. As important, however, would be their role in teacher training and for teachers' use in social studies, music, and curriculum developments through literature, conventions, demonstrations and workshops.

This particular document, in addition to the following discussion, highlights something of a popular myth about the operation of Folkways Records. Moe, himself, would often suggest that he would not spend a dime on advertising; that there were enough people out there to find his records and who would support Folkways. Furthermore, he could use the money spent on advertising to put out more records, which was the whole

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1 Whether it was generated by Moe or someone else is unclear. It has a number of amendments in Moe's handwriting made throughout the document. The document is dated 2 November 1948.

2 It may also have been a means of reaching some type of agreement on paper to support his working as a paid contractor of Folkways.

3 Goldsmith (1998:234) discusses this particular document as well, noting that 'Moe asked a stewardess for a piece of stationery and wrote out a marketing strategy for the young label.' Other than the heading on the stationery - 'IN FLIGHT - EASTERN AIR LINES' - there is no evidence to support the particular scenario Goldsmith suggests within the document itself. Goldsmith offers no other supporting evidence.

point of the enterprise. However, this was not entirely true. Outside of the distribution relationships central to the basic survival of Folkways, there was, in fact, a consistent effort on the part of Moe to make sure that Folkways was promoted and its artists were promoted above and beyond basic distribution. Though this seems self-evident, it is an important aspect of the Folkways budget that is largely ignored in the popular literature.

Typically, Moe used industry papers, catalogues, and the like to list the records that were released in any given year. Nonetheless, one of the more surprising findings was the enlistment of New York advertising firm Lee-Myles Associates to promote Folkways in the mainstream media. Though it has often been stated - often by Moe himself - that Folkways never advertised, this was an obvious mis-statement. In fact, Folkways advertised quite extensively, with a notable proportion of Folkways' budget spent on the Lee-Myles account.

Two account lists from Lee-Myles give a good indication of the scope of Folkways advertising. Unfortunately, neither list is dated, but based on some of the accounts mentioned (Billboard, for example) the first 'regular accounts' list (Table 6.1) is likely the earlier of the two. It is likely that they date from between 1958 and 1962. One list gives a summary of the Folkways ads that are running on a regular schedule (X-019):

TABLE 6.1

Advertising Account Expense List

Publication	Cost
American Sociological Review	Nov. - $30
Catholic Educ. Review	Nov. - $25
Childhood Ed.	Dec. - $38.50
Billboard	1 per month - $23
Film News	Fall - $27
Grade Teacher	Dec - $70
Hi Fi[4]	Nov. - $195
Horn Book	Dec. - $33
Parents	Nov and Dec. - $518
NY Post	Oct. - $20
NY Times	Page 1, 4x in Oct - $160
Scholastic Teacher	Dec. - $68.40
This Mos [Month's] Records	Dec. - $75
Trains	Nov. - $40

[4] A proof sheet exists for an ad in *High Fidelity* in 1960 (60-027)

The other list (Table 6.2) gives further evidence of the types of directed advertising that Moe wanted for Folkways[5] (X-018 - information in parentheses is on the original document):

TABLE 6.2

Review List of Publications for Advertising

- Downbeat
- FM & Fine Arts (Every other month 4 more ads to go)
- State Teachers Mag. (Not published over summer - 1 more issue to go before fall)
- Explorers Journal (Only 4 or 5 times per year)
- Instructor
- NY. Times book exchange
- Variety (Cancel)
- Cashbox canceled
- Billboard canceled
- WFMT Perspective (cancel)
- WDTM FM
- Schwann (CANNOT CANCEL)
- Evergreen Review (5 times a year)
- American Record Guide (CANNOT CANCEL)
- Natural History (5 times a year) (cancel)
- N.Y. Times bottom of page 1
- FM & The Arts
- WFLM Prog. Guide (Can be canceled if you wish) (cancel)
- Forecast FM (Wrote them awaiting reply)

One indication of the degree of interaction between Moe and Lee-Myles Associates is a letter, again undated, from 'Bob' that was written to Moe at 1 AM Thurs. (or so the document is marked) (X-020). The document itself is a good illustration of the personal interactions that were working 'behind the scenes' to plan the success of Folkways:

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[5] One of the more telling documents is a letter to Lee-Myles Associates from The New Yorker magazine. In part, the letter notes that, "As you may recall, this account was submitted to me in 1959 at which time The New Yorker came to the conclusion that it would prefer not to run Folkways Records....Again, we thank you for considering The New Yorker but must again ask that you pass us by as far as this account is concerned" (60-081). One is left quite curious as to their reasons for refusing Folkways.

Moe-

As I was trying to go to sleep a thought hit me that I couldn't get out of my mind, the more I thought about it, the more I decided it was 'right' so decided to take my typewriter into the bathroom and get my thoughts down on paper before I got to the office in the morning and get bogged down in details.

Folkways has reached the point, and the Folk & Hoot. craze has reached the point where I feel you should run some large, well designed ads showing many of your albums (& maybe listing additional ones) in some top publications.

What I have in mind is a 1/3 page in Playboy, maybe a full color full page in NY Times magazine section, maybe a column in the N.Y. or Eastern edition of Life or Look. At same time a full page in Billboard & Cashbox (maybe Schwann, maybe High Fidelity).

This would establish you more firmly as the leader in the folk field (which of course you are). I think the time is ripe for you to do this now and I think its something you should do.

Of course this would be expensive, and by expensive I don't mean $3,000 to $5,000 added to your regular ad budget, but more like $10,000 to $20,000 (although I'm just guessing at this point as I have no rate books here at home). You would know whether this is something you could afford, but at this point it would seem to me that you could, and if so I feel you might be making a mistake not to do this at this time.

As soon as I get to the office I'll start working on a layout to show you the type of ad I have in mind and hope I can have it ready to show you Friday or Monday.

let me know if you agree with me, or if you
feel I'm way off base-

There is no question that several points can be drawn from this letter. Obviously Bob has enough experience in handling the Folkways account to have the inclination to write out an advertising plan in his bathroom. Bob also had several existing accounts already in his head concerning where Folkways was being advertised, as well as the knowledge of the Folkways material (Folk and Hootenany reference) to make some suggestions regarding further efforts at advertising placement. Playboy would indeed be an interesting choice. Lastly, he had a dollar-figure awareness of the Folkways account and what Moe might normally spend on advertising, as well as having a sense of how much Moe might either want to, or be able to spend on pushing an advertising campaign.

At this time, however, what might be considered a landmark event occurred. A record sales representative named Larry Sockell knocked on Moe's door and presented his sales pitch to get the Folkways account (LS-1):

I had started my own business [in 1960] and I went around to manufacturers and asked them if they needed a sales rep. to cover the country and to expose their products to the major record dealers in the country. Which included department stores, people such as A and A in Canada, Sam Goody in NY. All the major accounts. I approached Moses Asch and he liked my presentation. He said, 'Look, I don't have any sales manager or anything. You could act as my sales manager and advise me how to increase my sales, because I know I'm not reaching a great portion of the buying public who are interested in folk, Jazz and the type of music I'm basically interested in'.

I spent a lot of time on his product because they hadn't seen it all over the country. The accounts I was servicing: Rose Records in Chicago - he hadn't seen it. The record account in Minneapolis...I exposed it in Boston. I exposed it in places he never dreamed of. My job was to travel around the United States at least twice a year. Certain places like Chicago or Minneapolis I went four times a year. Washington DC four times a year. But I hit almost every major city, at that time it was Cincinnati, Columbus, Ohio, on the West Coast, Portland, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Phoenix, Las Vegas. I went to all these places. If I knew there was some store there, that could handle it - it had to be a big store. Quite truthfully, we played games with the price. And I had complete authority to sell for whatever I wanted. I determined the price. If they argued with me on price and said 'this is too expensive', I would say, 'well, take 500 pieces, we'll take an extra 10% off.' You know, Moe never, never repudiated any deal I made.

Larry worked with Moe and Folkways until the 1980s. It is clear that his intervention, along with the coordinated advertising efforts of Lee-Myles, made a significant impact on the overall sales and image of Folkways. The section below outlines some of the more specific areas that Moe was able to use in the promotion of Folkways and its artists. These outlets include magazines and catalogs, radio and concert promotion, conventions and educational outlets. Moe also attempted two major licensing arrangements with Scholastic and MGM, respectively, as a means to achieve greater circulation (and profitability) of Folkways records. Finally, the brief attempt at resurrecting DISC Records will be discussed, if only to reinforce the strength of focus on the Folkways project.

Magazines and Catalogues

The ongoing difficulty for Moe was to be able to consistently get Folkways recordings into the media without a great deal of expense. One of the more cost-effective ways of doing this was to list Folkways in many of the national record catalogues that are central to many retailing and institutional organizations. The Schwann catalog (56-029) and Phonolog Publishing (63-030)[6] were but two of the listings that Moe used to promote Folkways.

The problem facing Moe with many of these types of outlets was the sheer volume of his releases and the difficulty in getting review copies and information of new releases sent out.[7] This is the case with the documentation for Schwann, as well as with another trade magazine, *Record and Sound Retailing*. In fact, in the latter case, Moe was soundly reprimanded for the lack of consistency in getting copies of Folkways records to the reviewing staff in time for review columns. The publisher of *Record and Sound Retailing*, Molly Harrison, began a two-page letter (60-087) to Moe with the pointed, "In answer to

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[6] Moe apparently had trouble with Phonolog, but it is not clear why. In a very short letter (63-030), Moe states: "I am very grieved and very disturbed that Pete Seeger and many of our Folkways artists are listed in the Phonolog catalog, while we, who outsells Columbia in Pete Seeger and many other companies listed in Phonolog, as yet are not listed. What does it take to be listed in the Phonolog?"

[7] In one instance with Scholastic Teacher magazine, the editorial staff were nice enough to remind Folkways in time to get an entry into the 16th 'Where To Find It' directory for educators across the country (64-049).

your recent complaint about omitting some of your recordings from our holiday roundup, I can only say, and quite firmly, 'Penny-wise and pound foolish.'" She closes the letter by again reminding Moe that "You are always welcome to this review coverage, and I can sincerely assure you of the attention your recordings are worthy of, but we must get the recordings if we are to be intelligent about our recommendations."

One of the better relationships Moe seemed to have was with *Notes*, the quarterly journal of the Music Library Association. Certainly the choice would have been a good one for Moe to pursue. As a letter from Richard Hill of *Notes* magazine (57-006) points out to Moe,

> ...the time has come for deciding what to do about the March [1957] issue. You've sunk so much into publicizing the Folkway releases already in Notes, that I shall quite understand if you decide to let things ride for a time. On the other hand, if the little record[6] has the effect we are all counting upon and produces a lot of new buyers among the librarians, perhaps this is just the time to strike while the fire is burning brightly.

Indeed, the manner in which the layout was set in the journal served a double purpose: first to advertise the new releases of Folkways, but also to act as a reference list for music librarians. As Moe suggests in a response to a lengthy letter from Hill some time later, "The type, therefore, can be set up and used for reproduction and the libraries would have a listing from Notes" (59-26.1, 59-026.2).

Radio and Concert Promotion

Promoting Folkways Records on radio appeared to be largely based on three approaches. The first was the promoting of Folkways recordings in conjunction with some type of music programming. In exchange for the use of Folkways recordings on the air, Folkways would provide promotional copies to the station to use for the program. A good example of this was the agreement made with WSEL-FM in Chicago (60-009). Part of a request letter for recordings reads,

> As per your agreement with...our station manager, to furnish WSEL with ten to twelve FOLKWAYS Recordings per month for promotional usage on the air on our FOLKWAYS AND FOLK SONGS and ODDBALL CORNER, we submit the following list....You may be sure that we give full credit -- label and number -- to FOLKWAYS.

The second approach that Folkways used in this area was assisting local dealers in the promotion of themselves in conjunction with Folkways Records. In a letter to The Music Box in Charleston, W. Virginia by Marian Distler (58-009), she states that

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[6] It appears that this refers to a sampler record put out with the magazine.

We are interested in pursuing further the possibilities of developing sales through radio. Our regular radio fee is $2.00 per record. These of course are for promotional purposes, and we will be glad to send those records requested by the station on their letterhead. And if the records are used in conjunction with retail outlets such as yours we will be able to give you an additional discount - at 50% - for this direct tie-up.

This is an important letter in that it shows an interest in the more systematic management of this type of promotion. With the work of Larry Sockell as 'National Sales Representative' for Folkways, a more generalized approach was needed. The more developed criteria were outlined in a letter prompted by a request from the Rebel Recording Co. of Mt. Ranier, MD (60-088). Sockell responded that

Folkways Records can always be counted upon to cooperate in the promotion of folk music, provided the cooperation requested is reasonable.

In view of this I suggest you compile a list of stations and addresses, noting the program directors who can be counted upon to feature our records. In addition, you can request the program directors to choose a reasonable quantity of records that can be scheduled over a 60 day period.

Immediately upon receipt of this information we shall see that your stations are serviced directly from New York.

We would appreciate being kept informed of the progress made by the programs, and the effect in your territory.

Under separate cover Folkways Records will send you the supply of catalogues noted in your letter.

I would assume that your organization will be placing an order to cover the records which will be featured by the local station....

The third approach was the promotion of a particular performance event by a Folkways artist. Although Folkways was open to supporting virtually all of its artists in some fashion (free slicks, catalogues, some promotional recordings), this particular approach really only applied to a few of the working artists that recorded on Folkways. Furthermore, as Moe pointed out in a letter in 1961 (61-042),

One of the problems that we are now facing is that many of the artists appear on a number of labels and we have no desire to promote our competitors' records. Therefore, we are limiting our participation with dealers only to artists and recordings associated with our firm. So far we have five exclusive Folkways artists, and you'll have 100% cooperation. They are: New Lost City Ramblers, Jean Ritchie, Sam Hinton, Bill McAdoo and Alan Mills.

One of the significant exceptions to this rule were the Seeger family: Pete, Peggy and her husband Ewan MacColl. Moe did a great deal to do what he could to promote their endeavors, particularly Pete.[9] Moe provided sponsors of concerts with an assortment of promotional material, including interviews with Pete, flyers, bulletins, recordings, or funds up to 10% of the total cost of the advertising program that the sponsor undertook (59-048,

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[9] A good example is the investment that Moe made in The Pete Seeger Shows made by Advertisers' Broadcast Co. NYC. An invoice shows $2800.00 due (8 shows @ $350.00 each). $1750 is shown paid, with a copy of a cheque for $1050.00 attached (65-066). A second invoice shows $2600 owed on 13 episodes at WNJU-TV Ch. 47, Newark, NJ. (65-039).

59-059, 60-007, 61-040). There is little doubt that much of Moe's additional support of Pete in particular (aside from his sales volumes), came from the long and personal relationship that joined the Asch and Seeger families.

Conventions

The convention circuit was one of the most important information outlets for Folkways. In large part this was due to the particular kind of exposure that could be gained by participating in very specialized conventions. With such a broad range of material available in the catalog (even early on), a convention would allow Moe or, occasionally, a representative of some type, to target the convention with only a few, highly pertinent titles. Of course, for this strategy to prevail, a wide variety of conventions would have to be attended. This was exactly the approach that Moe took.

A specific example of this strategy can be found in a folder held in the archive called 'Conventions '59' (59-003). The contents of the folder are of interest, but not nearly to the extent of the itinerary listed on the inside of the folder itself. Table 6.3 below roughly approximates the layout and markings of the itinerary.

Table 6.3

Convention and Conference Itinerary, 1959[10]

Month	Dates	Conference and Location
January		
	23 - 27	Eastern MENC[11], Buffalo
	25 - 28	National School Boards, San Francisco
February		
	7 - 11	Secondary-School Principals, Philadelphia, PA
	14 - 18	School Administrators, Atlantic City
	22 - 25	Southwest MENC, Wichita, Kansas
	24 - 28	Music Teachers National Association, Kansas City, Missouri
March		
	1 - 5	Association of Supervision (?) and Curriculum (?), Cincinnati, OH
	4 - 7	Northwest MENC, Seattle
	22 - 25	Western MENC, Salt Lake City
	29 - April 3	Childhood Educators International, St. Louis, Missouri.
	31 - April 3	National Catholic Educators Association, Atlantic City.
	28 - April 12	International (?) Children's Fair, Roosevelt Raceway, Long Island (?)

[10] Note that dates marked with an * are those circled on the original list. These seem to indicate a desire to participate in these conventions in some manner.

[11] Music Educators National Conference. A department of the National Education Association. Moe also advertised in their official magazine, The Music Educators Journal (59-056).

Month	Dates	Conference and Location
	31 - April 4	National Science Teachers, Atlantic City
April		
	3 - 7	Southern MENC, Roanoke, Virginia
	13 -16	DAVI[12], Seattle
	17 - 18	Teachers of Foreign Language, Washington, DC.
May		
	1 - 2	Central States Modern Language Teachers, St. Louis
	7 - 10	North central MENC, Chicago
June[13]		
	21 - 27	ALA[14], Washington, DC
	22 - 25	NAMM[15], New York City
	28 - July 3	NEA, St. Louis.
September		
	3 - 5	American Sociology, Chicago.

This itinerary is particularly impressive given these convention appearances were done for promotion and sales - a practice unusual for a record company. In a summary sheet for 1957, the following figures were recorded for the accounting of Moe's convention year (Table 6.4).

Judging by the summary, especially of the profit-cost ratio, conventions were a relatively profitable enterprise. It is unclear whether the 'Folkways Gross Sales' column refers to sales generated at the convention, resulting from the convention, or in general. If it does represent sales directly in association with the conventions (which I suspect that it does), it represents something on the order of 25% to 35% of the total gross sales for the year.

While it was most common for Moe to attend conventions and conferences himself, he often worked out deals with either other attendees or contracted with companies to represent Folkways when he was unable to attend. A 1957 (57-014) cost breakdown from Robert Coles of the Book-of-the-Month Club lists the cost items that they had agreed to share for participation in four Music Educators National Conference's of that year. There is ample evidence, however, that many of these conferences were attended by Folkways' representatives and that considerable costs were undertaken to ensure a good presentation.

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[12] Department of Audio-Visual Instruction of the National Education Association.

[13] Missing from this itinerary is the American Book Association, 14 - 17 June 1959, as evidenced by a United Convention Services invoice (59-038.1).

[14] American Library Association.

[15] National Association of Music Manufacturers.

TABLE 6.4

Moses Asch: Convention Summary, 1957.[16]

	Convention			Folkways	Cash Rec Bk	
	Purchases	C D[17]		Gross Sales	Cost	Profit
January					400.00	100.00
February					400.00	100.00
March					1 600.00	400.00
April					—	—
May					853.80	213.45
June					400.00	100.00
July	325.03	237.75		14 121.36	—	—
August	118.75	160.53		16 487.00	—	—
September	56.50	157.00		22 153.05	—	—
October	—	71.80		17 899.86	—	—
November	227.65	666.17		23 818.42	1 200.00	300.00
December	141.25	284.28		16 777.18	—	—
	869.18	**1 577.53**		**111 256.91**	**4 853.80**	**1 213.45**

Feb - Atlantic City - Schl Adm	Profit	1 213.45
Mar - " " - Music Ed	Comm	11 125.69
St. Louis - Curriculum	[Ray/Roy][18]	1 215.10
Apr - Milwaukee - Nat'l Catholic		13 554.24
June - Kansas City - ALA	Conv. Booth Rental and Supplies	2 446.71
Phila - Nat'l Educ		
July - Music Merchants - Chi		**11 107.53**
Aug - Wash DC - Sociologists		
Sept - Madison, Wisc.- Modern Lang		
Oct - Albany - NY Libraries		
Nov - Pitts - Soc Studies	(Costs: Out-of-town travel and expenses, plus NYC expenses, including rent and taxes)	6 365.16
Dec - Indianapolis - Scientists		4 742.37
	Salary [presumed to be Moe's]	1000.00
		5 742.37
	(Other assorted costs)	1 425.31
		5 317.06

[16] From Moses Asch: Convention Summary 1957. Note that this document is reproduced here approximately as it is in the original. Not all entries are clearly marked. In those cases, the items are summarized as well as possible and included into the calculations.

[17] Based on other accounting entries, I would assume this to be Credit and Debit. However, this is as they are originally marked.

[18] It is completely unclear what this is in reference to.

A variety of invoices from companies like Brede (Convention Services) Incorporated (59-038.2, 59-038.4, 60-015) and United Convention Services (59-038.1, 59-038.3) illustrate the costs for setting up a booth: approximately $40 to $50 a day for materials. This is not to omit the applications made directly to the conference organizers for the space and appropriate materials (for example 59-006, 59-020, 59-043).

Tables 6.5 and 6.6 below, also illustrate how important the 'Combined Book' account was to the convention success of Folkways. The information for the tables were taken from account books that reflect Moe's personal accounts. Importantly, these accounts reflect almost entirely the expenses for conventions generally, with only a small percentage of other, non-convention expenses (the amount being the difference between total convention expenses and total accounts payable).

TABLE 6.5

Summary of information from Moses Asch Purchase Book, Mar 1958 - Nov 1959

Date	'Combined Book' Account	Total Convention Expenses	Total Account Payable	Membership Dues	'Brede Inc.' Account
Mar 1958	229.00	996.90	1543.84	–	–
Apr 1958	242.00	274.04	274.04	–	–
May 1958	37.50	242.50	280.00	36.00[19]	–
June 1958	109.25	399.25	399.25	–	233.00
July 1958	63.75	296.77	306.75	10.00[20]	–
Aug 1958	-	13.00	13.00	–	–
Sept 1958	–	–	105.19	30.00[21]	–
Oct 1958	–	100.00	100.00	–	–
Nov 1958	111.25	–	437.60	–	–
Dec 1958	323.00	665.11	665.11	–	–
Jan 1959	–	24.42	33.69	–	–
Feb 1959	–	325.00	325.00	–	–
Mar 1959	204.75	–	204.75	–	–
Apr/May 1959	362.50	1323.79	1375.19	50.00[22]	129.50
June 1959	102.50	429.72	690.17	–	179.10
July 1959	89.25	603.40	816.27	–	–
Aug 1959	–	–	114.44	–	–
Nov 1959	32.50	–	32.50	–	–

[19] Museum of Modern Art, $18.00, NEA-DAVI, $10.00 & $8.00.

[20] Association of American Indian Affairs.

[21] Educators Film Library [Librarian] Association.

[22] National Association of Music Manufacturers (NAMM)

TABLE 6.6

Moses Asch: Accounts Payable[23]

Date	Total Payable[24]	Combined Book payable
3.31.58	866.60	270.25
4.30.58	992.64	512.25
5.31.58	1 169.64	549.75
6.30.58	1 464.89	584.00
7.30.58[25]	1 764.10	647.75
8.31.58	1 459.75	587.75
9.30.58	1 532.95	536.25
10.31.58	1 472.00	495.00
11.30.58	1 567.10	548.75
12.31.58	2 050.10	871.75
1.31.59	1 969.13	751.75
2.28.59	1 944.13	701.75
3.31.59	1 287.27	604.00
5.31.59[26]	2 584.18	866.50
6.30.59	2 964.96	847.00
7.31.59[27]	2 832.96	797.00
8.18.59	3 435.03	886.25

It is clear from these summaries that convention activity was very important to Folkways. In many respects, convention attendance likely proved to one of the most effective means of communicating the importance and value of Folkways recordings to the most appropriate consumers. Since Moe only required a few hundred sales for a recording to break even, this type of direct sales was undoubtedly a major contributor to the success of a vast array of recordings.

EDUCATION

The educational market was one that Moe targeted early and consistently throughout the decades, particularly with his convention attendance. There are two likely reasons for this. The first was set firmly in Moe's belief that a great deal could be learned from the world's music and that his purpose in releasing a great deal of the Folkways material was

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[23] Note: Accouns overlap with those in Table 6.3.

[24] These accounts are predominantly convention-related accounts. Unfortunately there is no summary column for 'convention expenses' as there is in the purchase books entries. However, most of the accounts include accouts like AAAS, EAC, MLA, NAVA, NEA, NYSSMA, Rowan, Combined Book, plus miscellaneous hotels.

[25] Information taken from summary on 8.31.58 entry

[26] 5.31.59 includes two months - 4.31.59 is not missing, it had not been entered.

[27] Information taken from summary on 8.18.59

educational. This is especially true of the international musics as well as children's music and spoken word/dramatic recordings that Moe released. Thus much of the mandate supporting the operation of Folkways was of an educational nature, making educational forums obvious targets to direct sales.

The second reason has been alluded to above - the excise tax. Excise tax was applied to all items produced and had to be paid for up front by the manufacturer. In general, this tax was a burden for Folkways as well as most other producers. However, there was an exemption for materials that were specifically of an educational nature. Therefore, it was to Folkways' advantage to emphasize the production of educational materials as a promotional move that supported Moe's own production mandate. More importantly, however, it allowed the possibility of offering educational institutions a further discount on the recordings because of the absence of the tax. This would further help sales as well as help promotion of Folkways Records as a whole.

However, aside from the conventions discussed above, Moe used other means of getting at the educational market. For example, a couple of particularly interesting promotional flyers were released in 1956 and 1957 respectively (56-003, 57-021). The first item is a flyer sent out to music librarians by the Educational Department of Sam Goody Records. It consists of two parts: a promotion of Folkways Records in which Goody notes that Folkways Records are "preeminent in their field. They are on-the-spot recordings, authentic in every way. Technically, these records employ the latest developments both at the source and playback. The complete Folkways library is available at our Educational discount of 30% below list price."[28]

The second part of the flyer is a promotion for a product called PHONOTAPES. These were reel-to-reel tapes that were marketed as, in part, an alternative to LPs. These, too, were offered by Sam Goody at a 30% educational discount. The combination of Folkways and PHONOTAPES as part of the same promotion is notable in large part because of the degree of cross-licensing that occurred between the two companies (See appendix 14). Folkways used several of their language titles in exchange for more contemporary titles that were released by PHONOTAPES, in addition to the sale of the Speak English series to Folkways for approximately $1670 plus royalties (57-045.1).

The second promotional flyer (57-021) was one released from Folkways and directed to primary and secondary school principals. It included a list of 31 recordings that had

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[28] Sam Goody's discount likely reflects, in part, a discount given to them by Folkways, as part of both educational savings and as a general sales arrangement.

either been approved or had been recommended for approval by the Board of Education (See Appendix 15). The flyer goes on to preface this list by stating that these recordings

are listed in 'List of Approved Instructional Recordings and Transcriptions for use in Elementary Schools and Junior and High Schools' published by the Board of Education of the City of New York. You may purchase these records from us at 30% discount from prices listed in the enclosed catalog. Your net prices, therefore, are: 10" - $3.00, 12" - $3.95. There is no delivery charge.

Major Licensing Agreements

Licensing arrangements often provided a good opportunity to trade material between companies. Such arrangements can give a company access to material that it cannot afford, or is too risky to produce on its own. Alternatively, as was seen in Chapter 5, material that is too expensive to import as a finished recording can be licensed and released by the host company. Such arrangements can also provide a company an opportunity to get recognition and some income in other territories in a way that transfers much of the production risk to another producer.

Licensing deals provided Folkways with a variety of opportunities to obtain material for release, or to get its own material released elsewhere. The reason for focusing on the Scholastic and MGM agreements below is largely because of size. These two agreements very likely represent the largest licensing deals ever entered into by Folkways. Furthermore, they are interesting because both organization wanted access to the considerable Folkways catalog of the mid-1960s. For this access, both Scholastic and MGM were willing to pay handsomely. Finally, these two agreements mark the end of the period under examination in this work, leading Folkways to 1969.

The Scholastic Deal

There has been a substantial amount of confusion regarding the status of Folkways Records in the mid- to late-1960s. In large part this was due to a very large licensing/production/distribution deal that Moe made with Scholastic Magazines. This particular deal was a strange one for a couple of reasons. First, the sheer enormity of the material involved (despite the educational context of the agreement there was certainly an appearance that the entire Folkways catalog was available to Scholastic) made the arrangement unusual. Moe had never made a deal of that magnitude before. Secondly, the degree of involvement of Scholastic in the Folkways catalog was unusual. While there had been other licensing arrangements that Moe had entered into, the access that Scholastic had into Folkways inventory was so deep that Moe was ultimately hired by Scholastic as a consultant to oversee a number of educational and licensing issues.

The contract between Folkways and Scholastic Magazines was formally implemented in the spring of 1965 (it appears to be April 1 based on the information in 65-025). The terms of the contract itself have been less than clear. However, a question-and-answer release to Scholastic representatives announcing the agreement goes some way to answering some of the more practical implementation steps for the agreement (X-017). According to the introductory statement of the release, "In the spring of 1965, Scholastic entered into an agreement to be the exclusive educational sales representative for Folkways Records. This fact sheet is intended to provide Scholastic Representatives with information about this exploratory program, information which is not available elsewhere."

The release goes on to note that Scholastic will be selling 'That part of the Folkways library that is in most demand in schools and colleges. This consists of some 700 records chosen by Scholastic editors'. It is revealing to say the least, that nearly 60% of the Folkways catalog (at the time Folkways had about 1200 titles in its inventory) is deemed to be 'in demand' in educational institutions. Further, Scholastic will be focusing their sales on 'a very broad range of institutions' which include 'kindergartens to colleges, from Sunday schools to museums and hospitals and schools for the deaf - any non-profit educational institution'. It certainly seems that the Scholastic sales strategy should be put in some doubt, given their enthusiasm for targeting schools for the deaf for an LP record sales campaign.

The release goes on to note to its representatives that the initial contract was for eighteen months, with an option to continue to be exercised by Scholastic (though it is fair to assume that some provision for terminating the contract would also be available to Folkways). Documents dated up to the summer and fall of 1969 indicate that the agreement was still in force up to these dates (69-008, 69-009, 69-012).

A final point of interest in these dealings was the contract signed in May 1965 relating to the Folkways/Scholastic agreement. It is a statement of assignment directing that all payments due to Folkways will instead be paid to Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. Further,

> any advances, discounts, credits, payments, offsets, claims, refunds in favor of Scholastic Magazines, Inc. under said agreement may be claimed and collected by Scholastic Magazines, Inc. from Folkways Records and Service Corp. or may be offset against monies to be paid under this Assignment to Pioneer Record Sales, Inc.

This particular assignment is important because it highlights the central role of Pioneer in the management of Folkways accounts.[29]

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[29] The advantage of this arrangement between Pioneer and Folkways has not always been evident beyond merely providing a means of separating and managing accounting. However, in the next section on the Folkways/MGM agreement, the advantage of this arrangement will come to the fore.

The reasons that Moe entered into such an extensive arrangement are not entirely clear. Larry Sockell, the Folkways sales manager who was actively involved with Moe at Scholastic, recalled that (LS-1):

... [Moe] made an agreement with Scholastic books and records. They had 400 salesmen going around to schools soliciting business from the schools. Now, he turned it over to them on a one or two year lease, I don't remember. However, they employed me to continue as their sales manager which I agreed to. Now, with their 400 salesmen, Moe and I sold more than all 400 combined.

[Why do you think that happened?]

They didn't know where to sell them. They were selling to schools basically, and the schools were buying 3, 4 pieces. When I went out and made a sale it could have been anywhere from a minimum of a dozen to as much as 500 or 1000 pieces. It was funny. [Moe] and I used to laugh about it .... With all 400 salesmen they were going to do this, that, and the other thing, and they employed me as their sales manager, on a commission basis - strictly commission - and then I think the second year they offered me the sales managership but if I would work full time for them which I refused. But eventually I think they threw it back in his face, of course they couldn't handle it. The overhead of storing all that property was excessive.

... I don't know what the financial arrangement was, but they became the sole sales agent for him. They would do the billing and the shipping, the packing, the collating which was a tremendous job because you had to put a booklet in with every record. ...It was tremendous job. But I think they eventually gave it up in disgust and sent it back to him.

The biggest question about this particular arrangement was why Moe would put Folkways on the line in the way that he did. There was a provision in which Scholastic had an option to purchase any of the masters that Folkways owned. In May 1968, Scholastic exercised this option for 53 recordings (see Appendix 16), which, as the letter states, "does not necessarily represent all of the Schedule A Masters which Scholastic may elect to purchase" (68-014). Interestingly, Moe suggested they use only the Ella Jenkins recordings as a test case to see what sort of difficulties they might encounter in transferring rights from Folkways to Scholastic (68-015, 68-017). In a comment to his lawyer after apprising him of the situation, Moe wrote to Miles Lourie that '... we discussed the fact that the record once purchased should not be a Folkways/Scholastic product or label. I said that I want it to be a Scholastic' (68-015).

Confirmation of this process is reflected in a note attached to a financial statement of the year ending 30 June 1965 (65-040: See Table 7.8). Assumed to be based on information from 'management' (i.e. Moe), the note indicates that:

After the close of the fiscal year, the company negotiated a contract with an educational publishing house, to handle all of its educational sales. Further negotiations are in process between the two parties whereby the entire catalogue will either be sold or licensed for both commercial and educational distribution in return for "Folkways" relinquishment of all of its activities. In this event Folkways would receive royalties on record quantities sold. The sale includes existing inventories and mothers and stampers for a substantial sum, but will however materially restrict the company's future operations.

Almost immediately word started to get around about the Folkways / Scholastic agreement. In a particularly detailed letter to V. C. Clinton-Baddeley of Jupiter Records in

London, Moe goes to great lengths to explain the relationship that exists between Folkways, Scholastic, and Jupiter Records (65-036):

...starting in the early spring and continuing till last month, I have not been able to have any clear positive indication as to where Folkways stood in relationship to schools. Now it has become more clarified, although new concepts occur every day. First of all, none of the Jupiter records have appeared on any list other than the Folkways catalogue, as I have no rights to cross license. Scholastic Magazines is negotiating and has a temporary arrangement with me to be the exclusive distributor of Folkways Records all over the world for educational purposes. They have negotiated with me first for all the recordings which I have all rights to, which are called "Schedules A", and which they contemplate purchasing eventually. Naturally, the Jupiter licensed recordings do not fall in this category.

Recently Scholastic Magazines asked me to act as a consultant in relationship to the exploitation of phonograph records in education, with an emphasis on the college and higher education market. Naturally, Jupiter Recordings fit right into this area.

It is my thought that we should have a permanent arrangement as we have now, and you would be getting the same royalties and authors' fees as you are now. Also, the name Jupiter-Folkways would be used on the label. In this way, Scholastic, through its arrangement with Folkways, would naturally include these within the catalogue of Folkways records and be able to merchandise and exploit Jupiter-Folkways in the same manner as it does Folkways records....

Business in education for English recordings, especially at the college level during the last year, has been very poor. First Caedmon controlled the field and second, Columbia Records, MGM, London and Argo have pressured the area of college English and I did not have sufficient finances to counteract this pressure. Now with Scholastic Magazines being interested in exploiting this market, if the same arrangement that you and I have had before continues, they will be in a position to exploit to our mutual benefit the recordings you so well put together. Also, I would be in a better situation to issue more of your catalogues than I have in the last year....

In a second letter to V. C. Clinton-Baddeley about eighteen months later, (67-001), Moe continues:

The agreement with Scholastic and Folkways is for a 5 year period. Folkways leases to Scholastic its catalogue-name and agreements (contracts). Scholastic must maintain the same items that Folkways did in the same manner and pay Folkways for this right and also pay Folkways the royalty due as per contract with Folkways licensees. Scholastic pays Folkways all moneys (sic), then Folkways distributes.

Scholastic will be issuing its own records too. I am hired as a consultant in the audio-visual area. Primarily to oversee the Folkways operation to be sure that the items issued are as I want them. Part of the time will be devoted to help them in production and promotion of their own product. Meanwhile I have still three labels of my own that do not come under their agreement - Asch, RBF, and Broadside. And I wanted to take life easy.

It is unclear exactly when the Scholastic agreement was terminated, but it appears that Folkways was on its own again by 1969.

MGM/Folkways Agreement

The MGM/Folkways agreement occurred at virtually the same time as the Scholastic/Folkways agreement. Signed on 1 April 1965 (X-013), it gave MGM the right to manufacture, release, and distribute recordings from masters owned by Folkways, and to be released on the label Verve-Folkways. The main recordings of interest are the masters listed on the attached Schedule A of the agreement (Appendix 17). MGM also had

an interest in a second set of masters (Schedule B - see Appendix 18) that were subject to additional conditions of access. These conditions allowed Folkways to release Schedule B masters for an additional 6 months after notification from MGM that they wished to release a particular title in either the United States or Canada only. Further, if MGM ceased to release a schedule B master in both the United States and Canada, the master automatically reverted back to Folkways. If MGM wished to re-release a schedule B master, it could give the 6 month notice as stated in the first condition.

Also mentioned in the agreement was a set of schedule C masters (a listing or further mention of these masters outside of the agreement has not been found) subject to a similar set of conditions to the schedule B masters. An additional proviso was put in place, however, that demanded that all schedule A and schedule B masters must be in current release prior to the release of any schedule C masters. Further, if any schedule A or B masters were to cease being released by MGM, then all schedule C masters would revert back to Folkways. It would be a fair speculation that this addition to the contract was only a protective clause that allowed further expansion of the terms of the contract without having to re-execute the contract. However, given the size of the schedule B masters list (appendix 18) it is not surprising that MGM never released all of the schedule A and B masters.

In terms of control, MGM was granted by Folkways non-exclusive use of the name "Folkways" in connection to the A, B, and C masters, of course with final approval by Folkways. Interestingly, MGM was also granted by Folkways (through written consent) the right to use 'Verve-Folkways' on all labels, packaging, etc., of releases not covered under the A, B, or C schedules. Presumably this clause would allow the acquisition of Folkways masters not in the schedules at some point during the agreement. The agreement was also geographically limited in the first two years to distribution within the United States and Canada. After 31 March 1966, the rights became worldwide, subject to the limitations in place from prior agreements.

A list of short conditions then followed in the agreement:

- MGM was allowed to sub-license material to Canada only through Capri Productions, Inc. Any other sub-license agreements require written consent from Folkways.
- Folkways could order from MGM recordings made from schedules A, B, or C at MGM's cost for sale by Folkways only to educational institutions.
- Folkways could license schedule A, B, or C masters to educational institutions during contract with MGM, as long as such institutions do not sell below Folkways' present effective wholesale price.
- Folkways had sole control over the order of presentation of material on individual recordings made from schedule A, B, or C masters.

- All schedule A, B, and C masters released by MGM shall be solely Verve-Folkways'.

The issue of payment was naturally at the center of such an agreement. In this case, MGM agreed to pay reasonably well under the terms of the contract. For brevity's sake, the terms are listed in point form below:

- Folkways received 8.5% of retail selling price[30] on 90% of recordings that contain schedule A, B, or C masters and that have not been returned.
- If not all releases are from schedule A, B, or C masters, then the above royalty will be paid according to the fraction of [number of Folkways masters] ÷ [total number of masters on the recordings].
- MGM will pay 35% of 90% of sales not returned (or a fraction as defined above) of records sold by MGM through record clubs other than a record club owned and operated by MGM.
- MGM will pay 35% of all gross sums on sales of A, B, or C masters outside the U.S.
- MGM will pay 35% or all money received by MGM through public performance of recordings containing A, B, or C masters.
- No payment will be made on promotional copies given away free of charge.
- No royalty will be paid on 'cut-outs' [deleted records sold at discount] sold below cost by MGM, provided they are not selling the same schedule A, B, or C masters through regular channels, and Folkways receives 30 day written notice of such a sale.
- Folkways may, within 20 days of receiving MGM's notice of intent to sell recordings as 'cut-outs', may buy the 'cut-outs' at the price offered by the purchasing company. Selling 'cut-outs' will constitute cessation of production and the rights to such masters will revert back to Folkways.
- Finally, MGM agreed not to sell as scrap any material made from A, B, or C masters.

The importance and scope of this agreement is reflected in the size of the advances paid by MGM to Folkways in each year of the contract. The contract itself was set to expire in two years with options to renew the agreement on a yearly basis for three more years.[31] In each of these years, a non-returnable advance was paid, to be recouped under certain conditions by MGM through sales throughout the year:

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[30] The 'suggested retail selling price' as outline in the contract is $4.98 minus excise tax actually paid by MGM.

[31] The provision for the termination of the contract was to have MGM return to Folkways all materials related to the schedule A, B, and C masters (tapes, mothers, stampers, booklets, etc.) at no cost to Folkways.

1 April 1965 - 31 March 1966:	$35 000[32]
1 April 1966 - 31 March 1967:	$45 000
(If the option to renew is exercised)	
1 April 1967 - 31 March 1968:	$45 000
1 April 1968 - 31 March 1969:	$50 000
1 April 1969 - 31 March 1970:	$50 000

A second contract was also signed by Moe in connection to the MGM production/ distribution agreement. However, this time it was between MGM and Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. The importance of this agreement is twofold. First, it indicates more clearly the role that Pioneer had been playing all along with respect to the sale of Folkways records. Secondly, it highlights to great effect the advantage that was to be gained by Moe in separating out the different economic roles of various enterprises.

The contract (X-014), signed 3 May 1965[33], begins by stating that MGM agrees that Pioneer Record Sales has "a binding arrangement with Folkways whereby you [Pioneer] alone are empowered to distribute within the United States of America all phonograph records embodying the said recorded performance". With this contract, MGM agreed to take over part of the distribution role that Pioneer performed on behalf of Folkways Records, while still allowing Pioneer to maintain distribution of Folkways within the limits of the MGM/Folkways agreement. The payment for such an acquisition by MGM amounted to the following:

- MGM will pay Pioneer 4% of retail on 90% of all non-returned sales of A and B masters[34] within the United States.
- MGM will pay 15% of gross sales not returned (or a fraction as defined above) of records sold by MGM through record clubs other than a record club owned and operated by MGM.
- MGM will pay 15% of all gross sums on sales of A, B, or C masters outside the U.S.
- MGM will pay 15% or all money received by MGM through public performance of recordings containing A, B, or C masters.

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[32] $8 750 was paid to Folkways as part of the first quarterly payment of the advance.

[33] The text of the contract indicates that the MGM/Folkways agreement - dated 1 April 1965 - was also signed that day.

[34] Note the absence of C masters here as well as throughout the contract.

The payment schedule for Pioneer then is as follows:

3 May 1965 - 2 May 1966:	$15 000
3 May 1966 - 2 May 1967:	$15 000
3 May 1967 - 2 May 1968:	$15 000
(if the options are exercised)	
3 May 1968 - 2 May 1969:	$15 000
3 May 1969 - 2 May 1970:	$15 000
3 May 1970 - 2 May 1971:	$20 000
3 May 1971 - 2 May 1972:	$15 000[35]
3 May 1971 - 2 May 1973:	$15 000

The combination of these two agreements - with Folkways for material; with Pioneer for distribution rights - ties together Moe's two main enterprises. In fact, it is a particularly clever arrangement that, when combined, gives Moe the following in yearly advances:

Year 1:	$50 000
Year 2:	$60 000
Year 3:	$60 000
Year 4:	$65 000
Year 5:	$65 000

Plus:

- 12.5% of 90% of non-returned retail sales in the U.S.
- 50% of 90% of non-MGM record club sales, plus 15% of the remaining 10% of sales.
- 50% on gross sales by MGM licensees outside of the U.S.
- 50% on gross sums generated by public performance.

There is little doubt that this was one of the more lucrative contracts that Moe signed. However, what is most interesting is that the MGM/Folkways agreement, the Scholastic/Folkways agreement, the MGM/Pioneer agreement and the Scholastic/Pioneer assignment agreement all were executed within a month of each other. It seemed, however, that the MGM deal took care of some of the more popular items, while the Scholastic agreement took over the educational material. While there might not have been

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[35] An additional clause indicated that if MGM were to release recordings of previously un-released Folkways material, the amounts for 1971-72 and 1972-73 would become $20 000.

any conflicting interests, it does have the appearance of a potentially hostile set of arrangements.

Apparently, however, it did not seem to Moe that there was a conflict. In fact, it seemed that these arrangements were just the ticket to ease up his schedule. Now in his early 60s, Moe was clearly starting to think about the future. A draft announcement concerning the contracts points out that (X-016):

1) For general consumer use of Folkways Records, the world's largest producer of authentic Folk Music on records, has made a long term arrangement with MGM Records.

It was mutually agreed that Folkways should maintain its unique ability to create recordings that have lasting value while MGM with its vast facilities of exploitation and merchandising would take the more commercial items and give them the exposure that an independent like Folkways would not be able to do. The first releases will be on a new label called VERVE-FOLKWAYS, dedicated to maintaining the Folkways concept, will consist of five previous Folkways releases and five releases of unissued masters from the vast Folkways archives with such artists as Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Cisco Houston, Leadbelly and The New Lost City Ramblers.

2) In education, a field that Folkways Records has pioneered in: creating and issuing material especially adapted for school use. Today Folkways Records is one of the leaders in sales and exploitation in the use of recordings for education. With the ever expanding demand for its product, Folkways in order to better serve the school systems and individual teachers has made an exclusive arrangement with Scholastic Magazines, Inc. of 50 West 44th Street, New York City, to distribute and exploit the Educational Folkways Catalogue that consists of Ethnic Music, Literature, Music Instruction, Foreign Language, Historic Documentaries in both spoken and folk song, Science and the many children oriented recordings.

With the educational and consumer merchandising taken care of, Moses Asch, the Director of Folkways Records, is now free to pursue the areas most interesting to him and one that he is noted for that of recording and producing material on records that is unique and valid to preserve. Folkways catalogue with its 1300 record albums is still available and is still being merchandised by the 20 distributors that is the core of its sales organization. The restrictions are only in the educational field and those masters that MGM Records has made arrangement for and has issued.

Ultimately, however, it does not appear that the MGM/Folkways agreement lasted much beyond the initial two-year period. In fact, the only real evidence that any recordings were actually released under the MGM/Folkways agreement (aside from a few records with the 'Verve-Folkways' label on them) is the listing of 'Verve/Folkways Releases from FV/FVS 9000' (X-015) that itemized 25 recordings (Appendix 19).

DISC Records Revisited

Following on the bankruptcy of the DISC in the late 1940s, it has often been assumed that the label died once and for all (Goldsmith 1998, for example, appears to omit much of the technical information about Asch's recording activities after the formation of Folkways Records). However, there was quite a concerted effort in the early part of 1964 to get DISC back into action. Based on the timing of the re-introduction of DISC, it is included in this section. Though there is no definitive evidence that the promotion of the label was related to the Scholastic and MGM deals with Folkways, it has every appearance of the re-

establishment of a label that Moe had sole control over in the face of reduced input and control within Folkways.

The first step was perhaps a unique one for Moe: he attempted to get a copyright on the name DISC Records. There does not appear to be evidence of Moe attempting to register the names of any of his other enterprises, including Folkways (which cause difficulties with Folkways Publishing, an unrelated enterprise). Unfortunately, the attempt failed, in large part because of the commonality of the name itself. A letter to Moe's attorney concerning the trademark search for DISC outlined that there were in fact five closely related trademarks that were already registered (64-022):

-DUODISC
-MELODISC
-DICTATION DISC
-DYNADISC
-THIS IS AMERIDISC

Based on these findings, the attorneys go on to suggest that in light of the above registrants,

> we cannot recommend the adoption and use of the proposed mark, since obviously any one of the registrants might complain.
>
> Additionally, and also of controlling importance, is the fact that the word "DISC" as applied to records, which are commonly referred to as "discs", would unquestionably be held to be descriptive. Even if a client has had long use of the "DISC" as a trademark to identify its products, we are of the opinion that the mark would still not be registrable since it would be considered to be virtually impossible to preempt this generic term.

This was then reported through his own attorney to him (64-025) and, apparently, these efforts were abandoned.

However, this was certainly not the end of the effort to re-introduce DISC onto the market. A month after the report on trademark (on 19 June 1964), a letter was sent to Walter Alshuk of RCA to summarize the terms concerning the introduction of DISC into the pressing orders (64-031):

> As a result of our conversation this morning, the following is, I believe, an accurate resume of our discussion.
>
> Folkways Records is now producing a new label called DISC Records.
>
> It is projected that beginning in July, DISC will issue an average of three new records per month. Opening orders will probably be in the area of 1,000 per record minimum, with actual sales determining re-order quantities. Re-orders plus new releases on DISC will probably average 10,000 plus per month, and possibly much higher.
>
> Estimating the dollar volume which both DISC and Folkways will be doing with RCA as closely as possible we calculate that our billing with you will be $5,000 to $6,000 per month.
>
> Further: As this is the nature of the business, as RCA well knows, we must give our distributors the usual 60-90-120 day dating and as a consequence we must anticipate receiving at least the same terms from RCA.

Important:

(a) You will receive weekly payments on account from us.
(b) Folkways as the producer of DISC will be responsible for payment.

Conservatively, we expect to do a sizable volume on DISC and would like to have RCA do all, or the bulk of the catalogue for us.

It appears that these terms were satisfactory as the next piece of documentation on this particular topic is a credit guarantee to assure credit for pressings. Interestingly, the guarantor in this case is Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. who backs DISC for $10 000 (64-041). This is, I believe, a particularly good example of the importance on Moe's part of having at least two concerns that are financially active (if not necessarily always solvent). In this case, and according to the notes above on the financial statements of Pioneer, there is clearly money movement between the companies. It is unclear (and probably at this time unknowable) whether Folkways would have had the financial resources, or have been in the position to back the credit demands covered by Pioneer.

In any event, all things appeared to be ready to go by the time of the press release in January of 1965 (65-001):

New York, NY (Special) - DISC IS BACK! DISC RECORDS, the leading and influential giant of Folk-Blues-Jazz, which rode the crest of popularity during the mid-forties, thanks to the keen devotion of GI's returning from World War Two, is back on the record scene again!

Ahead of its time in both record content and packaging, two decades ago, DISC's graphic covers were graced with he tasteful and exciting work of many contemporary artists, including David Stone Martin. The DISC packaging concept ultimately became the standard for the entire phonograph record industry. Previously, record jackets contained only the recording artist's name and a group of song titles.

The new DISC line is moderately priced and provides excellent Folk and Blues material by top names in attractive packaging that reflects the personalities of its artists. Most of DISC's releases are available in both Mono ($3.98) and Bi-Sonic Stereo ($4.98).

Reappearing for the first time last Fall, the label won immediate renown with it's "Sing With Seeger" LP which is still selling well. During the past few months albums by Cisco Houston, The New Lost City Ramblers and a Ghana "High Life" set, have been added to the DISC catalogue.

Now the firm is aggressively geared to begin 1965 with a long list of top-drawer releases including a Deluxe Box Set (FF 1) "Favorite Folk Songs," a 3-12" package that programs the talents of Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly. The FF 1 set was shipped to distributors ten days ago.

Other exciting new DISC RECORDS releases (all 12" LP items) are: "Big Bill Broonzy Sings Country Blues"; "Hard Travelin" by Woody Guthrie; "The Friends of Old Time Music" which features Clarence Ashley, Mississippi John Hurt, the Stanley Brothers and other Folk Music All-Stars; "Old Time Music" by the New Lost City Ramblers and "Doc Boggs" a showcase of the famous banjoist-singer of the '20's who was rediscovered by Mike Seeger.

DISC RECORDS are distributed nationally by Pioneer Record Sales, 165 W. 46th St., New York NY 10036

What is most interesting about this entire project is the timing. Many of these titles are the same titles that appear to be doing quite well overseas, particularly on the Xtra line

by Transatlantic Records in London. It also appears to coincide with something of a resurgence in the popularity of many of the more traditional artists, including the perennially popular Pete Seeger. However, the fact that it appears to be a 'moderately priced' line - compared to the premium prices of Folkways recordings, points to the likely possibility that Moe was looking for yet another way to capitalize on the situation most efficiently. Obviously re-releasing old material on another, slightly cheaper label not only created another income stream from material already at hand, but it would not distract Folkways from its release schedule of new material.

An added dimension to all of this is the fact that Moe chose to resurrect DISC instead of creating a new label name, which he had done a number of times in the past. Perhaps Moe simply had a soft spot for the label and was waiting for a statute of limitations following bankruptcies to expire. This may have been a very real possibility following the demise of the original incarnation of DISC, but it probably did not have much force the second time around. It appears that Moe was simply trying to capitalize on the former popularity of the DISC in the mid-1940s - which is abundantly clear in the press release. However, the fact that he is release primarily folk and blues material certainly changes the complexion of the company compared to the popularity the first company had built on jazz releases.

The final concern about timing is related to the fact that both the Scholastic deal and the MGM deal were signed only three and four months, respectively, after the above press release was generated. It would be hard to imagine that Moe did not have any inkling about upcoming agreements with Scholastic and MGM at the time of promoting DISC. Perhaps he thought that there would be no conflict among the various agreements and the operations of any new enterprises that he might engage in (in this case, DISC). Whatever the logic, it certainly has every appearance that any future DISC might have had ceased with this press release. There does not appear to be any other references to DISC activity in the archive, though there may have been a couple of releases after January of 1965. However, at this point, it seems that the project to resurrect DISC Records, was intense but short-lived.

* * *

Both agreements, though apparently lucrative, ultimately ended much more quickly than one would have expected, given the circumstances. The only logical conclusion, in line with Larry's perception, was that neither Scholastic or MGM really had the knowledge to handle Folkways recordings. Both companies seemed to have the financial resources necessary to support such an endeavor. Certainly both companies were willing to pay for the opportunity to exploit the Folkways catalog with the support of the Moe. The fact that once the agreements were terminated, Moe went back to his regular routine and continued

to release recordings for another 15 years, would suggest that Moe knew something the others did not. This is certainly further evidence that Moe had Folkways and his sound encyclopedia constructed in a way that seem to confound typical business practices.

The quick demise of the new DISC might also be related to the short tenure of both agreements. This would also support the contention that the reason for reviving DISC was to allow Moe a creative outlet in the absence of control over Folkways. Once Folkways was returned to Moe's complete control, any efforts to maintain DISC might well have appeared superfluous and dropped. This would have allowed all efforts to focus once again on the Folkways project and the maintenance of the Folkways catalog.

CHAPTER 7

WHERE HAS ALL THE MONEY GONE?

Some financial information has been presented and discussed in part prior to this section. However, there are various points in time - particularly in the lives of Folkways, Pioneer Record Sales and Moe himself - where a surprisingly complete financial picture is available. That having been said, it is still a fragmented and unsteady set of documentation to say the least. Before the discussion of this information begins in earnest, a few cautionary comments need to be made about these documents[1], in addition to the comments made about the archival documentation in general.

To the best of my knowledge, the accountant who prepared most of the financial statements and did the nuts and bolts accounting during this period (mid-1950s to mid-1960s) was Abe Wasserman. According to the Pioneer Record Sales ledgers beginning in late 1961, Abe was being paid amounts that seemed to average about $125 bi-weekly. This amount would vary more in frequency than in size, though neither was particularly consistent. The entries are also listed as a single payment, not as payroll with the appropriate tax and social security deductions as were listed for some of the other workers. This would indicate that Abe was working on a piecemeal or hourly basis and was likely operating as something of an independent contractor as opposed to an employee.

In any event, Abe was by all accounts a good and fair bookkeeper for Moe. The difficulty from the point of view of analysis is the unfortunate fact that Abe did not have the most legible penmanship, nor did he label all of the entries as clearly as would have been hoped. All of the entries for all of the accounts are hand-entered in 11" x 17" ledger books held in the archive. In some of the volumes, however, the binding has failed and many of the pages are loose or in collections that are not complete. Thus, much of the information below is left in the summary form, which has either been drawn directly from summaries provided by Abe, or were compiled through analysis.

I have a high degree of confidence in most of the figures presented below. Some of the entries, particularly for accounts receivable, were entered on a per-order basis and thus have a hurried and somewhat inconsistent presentation that makes it difficult to decipher some of the entries. Furthermore, in a few cases, totals that would be expected to match do

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[1] Please note that these documents have not been referenced. The original books are under the same titles as the sections below with the ledgers quite clearly identified. Copies of these documents are held by the author and can be retrieved based on the information presented here.

not, presenting additional difficulties in making some sense of the money flow throughout the various organizations.

I must state, however, that while some of the accounting is confusing and perhaps raises more questions than it answers, I do not believe that there was any 'funny stuff' going on with the books. It is my feeling that if some activity were occurring that contravened the laws of the time, it would not have been recorded and evidence for such activity would be non-existent. Nonetheless, I do not believe that such manipulation of the accounts was occurring - in spirit at least - and that ultimately, the books such as they exist are a relatively accurate representation of the activity of Folkways, Pioneer Record Sales, and perhaps most interesting, Moe's own income during the periods available.

The sections below will present the data that are available as I have culled them from the large number of individual entries contained in the ledgers. These summaries have been compiled to best illustrate the various areas of emphasis that have been presented in previous sections. In some cases, certain accounts have been summarized to make specific illustrations that will be mentioned where appropriate. The material, as I have already suggested, will be organized by accounts beginning with Folkways, then Pioneer Record Sales and finally some of Moe's accounts, all of which will be chronologically ordered. There is, of course, areas of overlap as all of these concerns where financially interrelated, and I will point out some of these areas of overlap where possible.

Folkways

The first set of ledgers outline the structuring of the amounts owed (accounts receivable) to Folkways. The format of Table 7.1 is similar to that of the original ledgers. The entries provide information for the date, total owing, then amounts owing from the current month, amounts carrying over from the three previous months, and finally an amount with 'prior' marked above. These amounts are carry-overs from money owing for more than four months. The table is to be read in two parts. The dates are continuous, connecting the two segments, but in the second segment the dates across the top shift as if to the left of the first segment (for example, Dec. 1958 - in the first column in the first segment, shifts to the right six places in the second segment) allowing for a continuous presentation of the data.

TABLE 7.1

Accounts Due summaries from Folkways Accounts/Receivable: 7.31.58 - 6.30.59.

Month Ending	Total Receivable	Dec 1958	Nov 1958	Oct 1958	Sept 1958	Aug 1958	July 1958	June 1958	May 1958	April 1958	
7.31.58	25 137.24						14 444.39	4 743.97	2 137.97	1 033.39	(Prior) 1 975.58
8.30.58	23 194.10					11 824.39	5 439.74	3 243.51	853.75	(Prior) 2 380.56	
9.30.58	22 671.19				14 546.69	1 469.67	2 018.96	2 491.58	(Prior) 2 535.24		
10.31.58	25 350.34			18 237.35	3 021.87	576.86	916.41	(Prior) 1495.03			
11.30.58	23 395.12		15 468.65	3 496.44	1 891.50	543.38	(Prior) 2 509.90				
12.30.58	25 111.34	16 313.43	3 394.46	2 162.25	1 385.17	(Prior) 2 433.25					

Month Ending	Total Receivable	June 1959	May 1959	April 1959	Mar 1959	Feb 1959	Jan 1959	Dec 1958	Nov 1958	Oct 1958	Sept 1958
12.30.58	25 111.34							16 313.43	3 394.46	2 162.25	1 385.17
1.31.59	25 308.14						15 736.04	2 409.14	970.86	782.90	(Prior) 1 335.38
2.28.59	27 989.54					15 958.30	4 477.47	809.52	645.56	(Prior) 1 431.84	
3.31.59	25 990.47				12 817.63	4 199.53	2 013.95	300.13	(Prior) 932.72		
4.30.59	26 673.12			10 959.06	3 086.28	1 202.26	1 049.90	(Prior) 1 072.46			
5.31.59	27 803.56		11 995.85	3 254.98	1 076.06	415.12	(Prior) 832.28				
6.30.59	33 501.88	15 208.02	3 498.01	1 175.43	639.20	(Prior) 1 225.61					

Table 7.2 represents summaries of the same Folkways Accounts Receivable as in Table 7.1. In addition, Table 7.2 includes the total numbers of accounts owing money, as well as amounts that were credited back to certain accounts, likely on the basis of returns.

TABLE 7.2

Folkways Accounts Receivable Monthly Summaries. July 1958 - June 1959

July - December 1958:						
	7.31.58 (378 Accts)	8.30.58 (375 Accts)	9.30.58 (353 Accts)	10.31.58 (349 Accts)	11.30.58 (344 Accts)	12.31.58 (378 Accts)
1st of the Month:	-25 137.24	-23 537.74	-23 194.10	-22 673.69	-25 360.76	-23 410.72
Amount Received:	(No other	+18 526.53	+24 805.39	+23 126.44	+22 973.76	+19 427.83
Amount still owed:	information	- 5 011.21	+1 611.29	+502.75	-2 387.00	-3 482.89
Sales for the Month:	available)	-18 182.89	-24 282.48	-25 853.09	-21 008.12	-21 128.45
End of the Month:		-23 194.10	-22 671.19	-25 350.34	-23 395.12	-24 111.34
(Amount credited back to some accounts):[2]	(799.68)	(647.85)	(391.15)	(418.98)	(514.75)	(577.72)

January - June 1959:						
	1.31.59 (375 Accts)	2.28.59 (386 Accts)	3.31.59 (370 Accts)	4.30.59 (360 Accts)	5.31.59 (355 Accts)	6.30.59 (368 Accts)
1st of the Month:	-25 112.74	-25 314.09	-27 990.40	-25 979.57	-26 676.82	-27 819.16
Amount Received:	+21 146.76	+20 390.98	+25 560.17	+19 912.54	+18 770.97	+16 335.10
Amount still owed:	-3 965.98	-4 923.11	-2 430.23	-6 066.98	-7 905.97	-11 484.06
Sales for the Month:	-21 342.16	-23 066.43	-23 560.24	-20 606.14	-19 897.71	-22 017.82
End of the Month:	-25 308.14	-27 989.54	-25 990.47	-26 673.12	-27 803.56	-33 501.88
(Amount credited back to some accounts):	(551.38)	(688.30)	(1008.24)	(812.63)	(539.38)	(854.80)

There are a couple of important observations to make concerning this set of data. By the late 1950s, Folkways was already operating at better than $300 000 a year in sales - a considerable amount at that time. Furthermore, Folkways was receiving on average 70% of the total amount owing within 60 days of billing. This ranged from receiving a low of 49% of money due in August 1958 to a high of 80% in May and June 1959. This is one of the more crucial statistics with respect to the company operation: without a considerable percentage of accounts paying in a timely fashion, the ability of Folkways to continue to produce recordings and manage debt would have been severely hampered.

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[2] Added to the accounts receivable lists were a list of (presumably) dealers that, for one reason or another, were to have a certain amount of money credited back onto their accounts. This amount represents the total amount owing to all those entitled (usually 20-30 accounts). This amount has already been added into the total amounts owing.

As interesting and important as these figures are, they are quite literally only half the story. The other half of the story is the amount of money that Folkways had to pay out in order to maintain production, distribution, and advertising. The accounts payable listed in the following table contains some of the most telling financial information concerning the operation of Folkways. Table 7.3 represents the earliest of the Accounts Payable records for Folkways dating from December 1955 to March 1956. The second set of data (Table 7.4) is listed chronologically by date from July 1958 to the end of June 1959 in weekly or bi-weekly increments. Table 7.4 also provides an excellent picture of the operations of Folkways over an entire year with accounting in very small increments - often just a few days.

The column categories have been taken from a much larger set of owing accounts, many of which, due to abbreviations and lack of supporting documentation, are not identifiable. The columns, however, represent the three phases that appeared to be most important with respect to the production of Folkways records: Bartok is Peter Bartok who ran a studio that Moe used quite extensively for pre-production work, while Cue is a studio where Moe sent artists to get material recorded, or on occasion recorded himself with their facilities; Plastylite and Progressive Labels, as noted earlier, were Moe's main pressing plant and label supplier respectively (notwithstanding his limited use of RCA). The Lee-Myles category is particularly interesting. As mentioned in the discussion on advertising, the degree to which Lee-Myles Associates were utilized to promote Folkways is surprising given the statements denouncing advertising by Folkways. These accounts, however, not only provide further support for the use of an advertising agency to promote Folkways, but indicate the striking amount of money spent on the account itself.

Note that the '+' indicates money paid by Folkways toward the amount owing on the account; the '-' indicates the amount charged against the account by Folkways during the same period. The accounts payable for 1955-1956, based on the above accounts are listed below in Table 7.3:

It is also important to note that the RCA account seems to have been taken off the books at the end of February 1956. Even though the account does not appear to have been paid out, it is likely that Moe had simply begun to use Plastylite as his main presser. It is also interesting to note that Moe was not averse to using a plant run by one of the major record companies. I think that it would be fair to assume that Moe was using whichever facility was giving him the best rates for his needs. The accounts continue from July 1958 in Table 7.4.

TABLE 7.3

Folkways Accounts Payable. December 1955 - March 1956.

Date		Total Payable	Bartok	Cue	Lee-Myles	Plastylite	Prog. Labels	RCA
11.30.55	Bal	-21 814.14	-488.03	-761.42	-2 760.77	-4 220.55	-529.93	-720.04
(12.1.55)	+	9 746.833	146.10	386.77	634.50	3 348.51	311.20	233.04
	-	11 285.87	201.20	319.41	1 069.77	5 366.20	249.46	0
12.27.55	Bal	-23 252.87	-543.13	-694.06	-3 196.04	-6 238.24	-468.19	-487.00
12.31.55	Bal	-23 927.38	-543.03	-541.10	-3 196.04	-6609.39	-468.19	-587.00
	+	10 466.07	75.00	451.49	1 826.02	3 269.00	296.01	313.50
	-	10 995.63	0	472.89	2 085.75	3 327.90	376.02	126.00
1.30.56	Bal	-23 956.94	-468.93	-562.50	-3 455.77	-6 678.29	-548.20	-388.50
1.31.56	Bal	-24 290.01	-468.03	-1 562.50	-3 584.82	-6 678.29	-548.20	-397.50
	+	10 617.59	60.00	171.60	939.06	3 211.19	235.40	173.50
	-	8 812.81	0	251.02	319.88	4 597.20	144.15	0
2.27.56	Bal	-22 485.23	-408.03	-641.92	-2 965.64	-8 064.30	-456.95	-224.00
2.29.56	Bal	-25 026.45	-408.03	-552.31	-2 965.64	-9 718.04	-673.83	----
	+	5711.70	30.00	177.68	713.06	2 184.81	94.79	----
	-	2 809.08	0	264.71	0	963.53	0	----
3.12.56	Bal	-22 123.83	-378.03	-639.34	-2 252.58	-8 496.76	-579.04	----

TABLE 7.4

Folkways Accounts Payable. July 1958 - June 1959.

Date		Total Payable	Bartok	Cue	Lee-Myles	Plastylite	Prog. Labels
7.1.58	Bal	**-36 339.74**	**-943.77**	**-1 401.05**	**-4 771.16**	**-7 832.15**	**-870.03**
	+	2 511.78	50.44	172.32	217.50	467.50	46.90
	-	1 280.55	0	0	354.55	174.00	139.30
7.22.58	Bal	**-35 108.51**	**-893.33**	**-1 228.73**	**-4 914.21**	**-7 538.65**	**-962.43**
	+	2 353.20	60.00	110.47	240.00	497.00	49.32
	-	2 826.75	0	150.69	276.00	336.90	16.44
7.29.58	Bal	**-35 582.06**	**-833.33**	**-1 268.95**	**-4 850.21**	**-7 378.55**	**-929.55**
	+	3 056.02	41.45	0	235.83	1 167.60	0
	-	2 528.31	86.49	89.37	0	903.40	108.05
8.5.58	Bal	**-35 052.35**	**-878.37**	**-1 358.32**	**-4 614.38**	**-7 114.35**	**-1 037.60**
	+	2 242.72	41.45	227.53	226.61	444.10	0
	-	1 262.98	100.94	0	61.25	648.60	31.69
8.12.58	Bal	**-34 173.61**	**-937.86**	**-1 130.79**	**-4 449.02**	**-7 318.85**	**-1 069.29**
	+	3 180.94	100.00	0	292.50	1500.00	175.00
	-	2 325.71	0	247.82	0	1181.00	31.69
8.19.58	Bal	**-33 318.38**	**-837.86**	**-1 378.61**	**-4 156.52**	**-6 999.85**	**-925.98**
	+	2 837.57	128.84	137.57	249.34	445.65	55.02
	-	2 802.79	0	0	0	474.40	0
8.26.58	Bal	**-33 283.60**	**-709.02**	**-1 241.04**	**-3 904.18**	**-7 028.60**	**-870.16**
	+	2 119.13	60.75	0	265.80	565.00	0
	-	3 247.77	51.00	150.13	700.81	698.50	78.59
8.31.58	Bal	**-34 412.24**	**-699.77**	**-1 391.17**	**-4 339.19**	**-7 162.10**	**-948.75**
(9.1.58)	+	2 253.21	75.00	170.12	469.00	0	87.09
	-	2 926.29	128.75	581.20	251.86	453.20	16.44

Date		Total Payable	Bartok	Cue	Lee-Myles	Plastylite	Prog. Labels
9.9.58	Bal	-35 085.32	-753.52	-1 802.25	-4 122.05	-7 615.30	-878.10
	+	4 424.74	75.84	168.57	488.83	1 388.50	92.68
	-	3 411.19	o	0	0	1 793.30	0
9.17.58	Bal	-34 071.77	-677.68	-1 633.68	-3 683.22	-8 020.10	-785.42
	+	2 750.74	80.00	113.56	438.82	727.40	95.03
	-	2 127.80	0	0	0	927.80	95.03
9.23.58	Bal	-33.448.83	-597.68	-1 520.12	-3 244.40	-8 220.50	-785.42
	+	3 009.11	50.00	0	264.87	741.60	73.48
	-	2 443.38	0	217.44	0	738.20	237.00
9.30.58	Bal	-32 883.10	-547.68	-710.06[3]	-2 979.53	-8 217.10	-948.94
(10.1.58)	+	2 841.70	75.00	115.37	280.30	756.30	79.82
	-	3 872.59	99.43	387.99	454.36	1 153.20	0
10.7.58	Bal	-33 913.99	-572.11	-982.68	-3 153.54	-8 614.00	-869.12
	+	3 910.03	75.00	158.03	348.98	1 606.60	100.14
	-	2 758.49	0	0	0	1 199.40	219.38
10.14.58	Bal	-32 762.45	-497.11	-824.65	-2 804.61	-8 206.80	-988.36
	+	3 584.64	86.49	0[4]	390.80	768.90	108.84
	-	3 362.50	0	0	0	1 840.10	0
10.21.58	Bal	-32 540.31	-410.62	-824.65	-2 413.81	-9 278.00	-879.52
	+	2 908.73	50.00	135.35	283.21	643.90	139.74
	-	6 466.48	0	0	2 017.62	1 068.80	126.77
10.28.58	Bal	-36 098.06	-360.62	-689.30	-4 148.22	-9 702.90	-866.55
	+	2 963.98	50.94	0	277.50	529.00	78.59
	-	4 467.81	0	576.50	451.00	400.20	188.92
11.4.58	Bal	-37 601.89	-309.68	-1 265.80	-4 321.72	-9 574.10	-976.88
	+	2 458.38	51.50	100.00	251.51	492.00	95.03
	-	1 167.94	0	0	0	819.40	0
11.11.58	Bal	-36 311.45	-258.18	-1 165.80	-4 070.21	-9 901.50	-881.85
	+	2 879.84	50.00	131.50[5]	290.00	575.00	125.49
	-	2 036.65	0	31.68	0	200.10	48.13
11.18.58	Bal	-35 468.26	-208.18	-1 065.98	-3 780.21	-9 526.60	-804.49
	+	3 803.05	50.00	0	298.56	1 662.60	127.91
	-	2 442.24	0	0	0	747.20	344.02
11.25.58	Bal	-34 107.45	-158.18	-1 065.98	-3 481.65	-8 611.10	-1 020.60
	+	3 490.86	28.25	222.95	298.00	746.30	110.28
	-	6 905.31	114.01	13.22	538.94	740.20	49.32
11.30.58	Bal	-37 521.90	-243.44	-1 456.25	-3 722.59	-8 605.00	-959.64
(12.1.58)	+	2 779.86	25.00	114.85	278.36	617.50	109.74
	-	3 564.28	0	228.10	100.80	1 251.50	63.13
12.10.58	Bal	-38 305.72	-218.44	-1 569.50	-3 545.03	-9 239.00	-913.03
	+	2 773.60	24.43	157.64	273.86	758.00	140.79
	-	2 300.36	0	0	0	1 368.00	0
12.16.58	Bal	-37 813.08	-194.01	-1 411.86	-3 271.17	-9 849.60	-772.24
	+	3 130.55	25.00	92.50[6]	462.70	656.30	113.89
	-	3 462.81	112.40	145.95	647.73	255.00	328.45

[3] This amount represents the remainder after Folkways took out a credit note with Cue for $1 027.50. Payments made against this credit note will be marked.

[4] Payment of $102.50 made against the credit note. $927.00 owing.

[5] An additional payment of $101.00 made against the credit note. $826.00 owing.

[6] An additional payment of $101.50 made against the credit note. $724.50 owing.

Date		Total Payable	Bartok	Cue	Lee-Myles	Plastylite	Prog. Labels
12.23.58	Bal	**-38 145.34**	**-281.41**	**-1 465.91**	**-3 456.40**	**-9 448.30**	**-987.40**
	+	2 696.74	34.01	101 98	298.00	757.30	124.35
	-	4 479.74	332.63	450.17	858.00	1 214.90	46.90
12.31.58	Bal	**-40 025.34**	**-580.03**	**-1 813.50**	**-4 116.40**	**-9 905.90**	**-909.95**
(1.1.59)	+	2 620.93	25.00	0	281.00	644.00	154.13
	-	172.91	0	0	0	0	0
1.6.59	Bal	**-37 590.32**	**-555.03**	**-1 813.50**	**-3 835.40**	**-9 261.90**	**-755.82**
	+	2 618.56	40.00	243.44	292.00	621.40	0
	-	2 185.42	0	95.23	427.19	358.00	0
1.13.59	Bal	**-37 147.18**	**-515.03**	**-1 665.29**	**-3 970.59**	**-8 998.50**	**-755.82**
	+	2 998.35	40	170.26[7]	242.00	754.50	109.12
	-	2 535.79	0	219.92	0	725.90	31.69
1.20.59	Bal	**-36 684.62**	**-475.03**	**-1 714.95**	**-3 728.59**	**-8 969.90**	**-678.39**
	+	2 890.53	30.00	0	270.86	680.50	82.00
	-	1 942.89	0	23.69	0	812.10	0
1.27.59	Bal	**-35 736.88**	**-445.03**	**-1 738.64**	**-3 457.73**	**-9 101.50**	**-596.39**
	+	2 962.78	32.40	91.16	244.76	831.60	46.22
	-	5 274.35	0	442.70	299.51	683.80	191.25
1.31.59	Bal	**-38 048.55**	**-412.63**	**-2 090.18**	**-3 512.48**	**-8 953.70**	**-691.42**
(2.1.59)	+	5 589.29	95.47	422.06	487.50	1 297.40	141.72
	-	4 581.78	51.50	0	170.00	2 357.80	93.34
2.17 59	Bal	**-37 041.04**	**-368.66**	**-1 668.12**	**-3 194.98**	**-10 014.10**	**-643.04**
	+	3 174.63	50.00	100.00[8]	298.50	599.20	78.59
	-	4 172.33	0	322.51	0	1 254.10	0
2.25.59	Bal	**-38 038.74**	**-318.66**	**-1 890.63**	**-2 896.48**	**-10 669.00**	**-564.45**
	+	3 302.39	51.50	0	234.18	1 638.90	46.90
	-	3 732.62	0	0	563.21	849.20	187.71
2.28.59	Bal	**-38 468.97**	**-267.16**	**-1 890.63**	**-3 225.51**	**-9 879.30**	**-705.26**
(3.1.59)	+	3 101.50	51.50	137.77	229.00	589.20	92.68
	-	1 117.63	0	0	0	0	62.18
3.9.59	Bal	**-36 485.10**	**-215.66**	**-1 752.86**	**-2 996.51**	**-9 290.10**	**-674.76**
	+	3 448.70	51.50	686.45	249.00	654.30	78.59
	-	3 044.40	211.54	556.89	0	214.00	64.57
3.17.59	Bal	**-36 080.44**	**-375.70**	**-1 623.30**	**-2 747.51**	**-8 849.80**	**-660.74**
	+	3 333.28	50.00	196.95[9]	244.00	669.30	78.59
	-	4 520.58	0	328.53	0	1168.00	157.24
3.27.59	Bal	**-37 267.74**	**-327.70**	**-1 754.88**	**-2 503.51**	**-9 848.50**	**-739.39**
	+	5 015.43	34.16	246.38	412.41	1 383.70	78.59
	-	5 182.18	496.61	895.02	650.33	823.60	49.32
4.7.59	Bal	**-37 434.49**	**-788.15**	**-2 403.52**	**-2 741.43**	**-9 288.40**	**-710.12**
	+	3 409.08	50.00	118.97	216.95	638.50	65.76
	-	1 848.94	0	0	0	1000.50	0
4.14.59	Bal	**-35 874.35**	**-738.15**	**-2 284.55**	**-2 524.48**	**-9 650.40**	**-644.36**
	+	5 986.26	50.00	222.85[10]	404.00	1 483.30	93.36
	-	7 837.55	0	977.83	0	2 462.40	248.93

[7] An additional payment of $102.00 made against the credit note. $622.50 owing.

[8] An additional payment of $102.50 made against the credit note. $520.00 owing.

[9] An additional payment of $103.00 made against the credit note. $417.00 owing.

[10] An additional payment of $103.50 made against the credit note. $313.50 owing.

Date		Total Payable	Bartok	Cue	Lee-Myles	Plastylite	Prog. Labels
4.28.59	Bal	**-37 725.64**	**-688.15**	**-3 039.53**	**-2 120.48**	**-10 629.50**	**-799.93**
	+	2 496.51	0	101.97	231.93	611.80	0
	-	4 678.45	0	383.52	967.87	1 320.70	64.57
5.5.59	Bal	**-39 907.28**	**-688.15**	**-3 321.08**	**-2 856.42**	**-11 338.40**	**-864.50**
	+	2 713.40	30.90	0	213.19	639.70	124.37
	-	2 999.40	0	0	0	1 084.20	95.06
5.12.59	Bal	**-40 193.28**	**-657.25**	**-3 321.08**	**-2 643.23**	**-11 782.90**	**-835.19**
	+	3 000.27	31.54	216.93[11]	211.00	650.90	63.34
	-	2 454.01	0	133.80	0	737.80	0
5.19.59	Bal	**-39 622.03**	**-625.71**	**-3 237.95**	**-2 432.23**	**-11 869.80**	**-771.85**
	+	2 293.06	0	120.00	202.80	647.00	62.18
	-	2 287.54	0	0	0	1143.40	16.44
5.26.59	Bal	**-39 616.51**	**-625.71**	**-3 117.95**	**-2 229.43**	**-12 366.20**	**-726.11**
	+	2 601.59	30.00	138.28	209.72	626.70	64.57
	-	7 346.98	0	466.09	1 326.90	642.80	173.58
6.3.59	Bal	**-44 361.90**	**-595.71**	**-3 445.76**	**-3 346.61**	**-12 382.30**	**-835.12**
	+	2 591.96	30.00	119.48	198.00	648.30	78.62
	-	1 742.62	123.60	0	0	431.20	0
6.9.59	Bal	**-43 512.56**	**-689.31**	**-3 326.28**	**-3 148.61**	**-12 665.20**	**-756.50**
	+	3 953.19	35.00	125.15	203.70	1 635.70	78.62
	-	4 065.71	0	275.27	0	735.10	16.44
6.16.59	Bal	**-43 625.08**	**-654.31**	**-3 467.40**	**-2 944.91**	**-11 764.60**	**-694.32**
	+	3 079.82	35.00	120.61[12]	219.00	614.80	65.76
	-	2 668.42	92.70	136.12	229.16	435.10	0
6.23.59	Bal	**-43 214.28**	**-712.01**	**-3 491.91**	**-2 955.07**	**-11 584.90**	**-628.56**
	+	3 079.78	35.00	97.08	-187.00	635.20	64.57
	-	4 465.70	0	173.50	-669.29	1 387.60	280.06
6.30.59	Bal	**-44 600.20**	**-677.01**	**-3 568.33**	**-3 437.36**	**-12 337.30**	**-844.05**

Summary and Comparison of Table 7.3 and 7.4

	Total Payable	Bartok	Cue	Lee-Myles	Plastylite	Prog. Labels
Net Difference from 7.1.58 to 6.30.59	-8 260.46	+266.76	-2 272.28 (inc. credit note)	+1 333.80	-4 505.15	+25.98
Net Difference from 3.12.56 to 6.30.59	-22 476.37	-298.98	-3 078.99 (inc. credit note)	-1 184.78	-3 840.54	-265.01

The data in Table 7.4 do not show any expenditures that would be unexpected for a small company whose business clearly increases over the December holidays and eases considerably over the summer months. In particular, the peak in spending on advertising during the 10.21.58 period would be fully expected given holiday

[11] An additional payment of $104.00 made against the credit note. $209.50 owing.

[12] An additional payment of $104.50 made against the credit note. $105.00 owing.

anticipation. However, the figure of $2 017 charged to Lee-Myles represents almost 100% of both Folkways standing debt with Lee-Myles and of the total debt payments made by Folkways to all accounts in that period. This is a clear illustration of the importance of getting sufficient advertising out during the holiday period and the financial support that Moe was willing to put behind such an effort.

A good example of the difficult financial environment within which Folkways operated can be seen in a brief comparison of the data in Table 7.2 with that in Tables 7.3 and 7.4, particularly, the comparison of the money owed to Folkways against money owed by Folkways. Comparing three data points (end of August 1958, end of December 1958 and end of June 1959) we can see that, although Folkways appears to be in serious financial straits with respect to the amounts owing in Table 7.4, the net amounts actually owed by Folkways were not as serious as it would first appear.

	End August 1958	End December 1958	End June 1959
Amount owed to Folkways	$ 23 194.10	$ 24 111.34	$ 33 501.88
Amount owed by Folkways	$ 34 412.24	$ 40 025.34	$ 44 600.20
Net Difference	$ -11 218.14	$ -15 914.00	$ -11 098.32

Nonetheless, the fact that Folkways Records was managing to continue to operate quite successfully carrying between 10 and 15 thousand dollars in debt during this period is commendable. It may also be reflective of the operating practices of the industry as a whole. Payment schedules of 30-60-90 days, or 90-120-150 days meant that most companies in the recording industry were likely operating in a chronic debt condition, much in the way that Folkways appeared to be doing during this time.

* * *

The extent to which the general financial health of Folkways can truly be evaluated at this time - from this data - is quite limited. One might say that we know Moe survived this period so it must have been acceptable. Nonetheless, it would have been helpful to have financial reports similar to those that were prepared on Folkways in 1964 and 1965 to compare to the 1950s data.

These two sets of financial reports (Tables 7.5 and 7.7 for 1964; Tables 7.6 and 7.8 for 1965 - shown below) give an unusual amount of information about Folkways. Typically, there would be nothing so organized as a financial statement coming out of the Folkways offices.

TABLE 7.5

Folkways Records Balance Sheet: 30 June 1964 (64-037).

ASSETS		
ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE	112 473.13	
MERCHANDISE INVENTORY - SUBMITTED BY MANAGEMENT	76 350.70	
SECURITY AND DEPOSITS	1 482.00	
PREPAID EXPENSES	571.50	
FURNITURE & FIXTURES - NET AFTER DEPRECIATION	2 274.51	
OTHER ASSETS	252.90	
TOTAL ASSETS		193 404.74
LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL		
TRADE ACCOUNTS AND NOTES PAYABLE	125 523.42	
BANK OVERDRAFT	6 256.02	
TAXES PAYABLE	17 769.25	
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES	149 548.69	
DEBTS PAYABLE - OFFICERS	79 030.24	
TOTAL LIABILITIES		228 578.93
CAPITAL STOCK ISSUED	10 150.00	
CAPITAL SURPLUS	3 000.00	
DEFICIT - JUNE 30, 1964	(48 324.19)	
CAPITAL - JUNE 30, 1964		(35 174.74)
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL		193 404.74

TABLE 7.6

Folkways Records Balance Sheet, June 30, 1965 (65-040)

ASSETS			
CURRENT ASSETS			
CASH		4 050	
NOTES RECEIVABLE - CUSTOMERS	$ 7 587		
LESS - NOTES RECEIVABLE DISCOUNTED	7 269	318	
ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE - CUSTOMERS		33 315	
MERCHANDISE INVENTORY - SUBMITTED		52 950	
EXCISE TAX REFUND RECEIVABLE[13]		36 926	
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS			$ 127 559
ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE - AFFILIATED COMPANY			57 786
FURNITURE AND EQUIPMENT		$ 5 800	
LESS - ACCUMULATED DEPRECIATION		4 105	1 695
MASTER RECORDS[14]			50 000
OTHER ASSETS			1 922
TOTAL			$ 238 962
LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL			
CURRENT LIABILITIES			
NOTES PAYABLE - TRADE		$ 36 734	
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE - TRADE		49 600	
TAXES PAYABLE		9 886	
EXCISE TAX PAYABLE - TRADE - NOTE 2 [SEE ABOVE]		25 601	
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES			$ 121 821
LOANS PAYABLE			92 005
CAPITAL STOCK		$ 10 150	
CAPITAL SURPLUS		53 000	
DEFICIT - JULY 1, 1964	$ (48 324)		
NET PROFIT - FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1965	10 310		
DEFICIT - JUNE 30, 1965		(38 014)	25 136
TOTAL			$ 238 962

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[13] "Note 2 - The 10% federal excise tax on phonograph records was repealed on June 22, 1965. As a result, the Company has applied for a refund of excise taxes on customers' inventory as of that date."

[14] "Note 4 - ...The company always followed a practice of expensing all phonograph record production costs, in the year incurred. Accordingly, the value of the entire catalogue is not shown on its balance sheet. However, as a result of this licensing agreement, management has decided to place a value of $50,000 on these master tapes."

The reasons that such audits might have been done are unclear. However, one might speculate that these audits were done was in response to financial questions from Scholastic or MGM regarding the licensing arrangements, particularly if the negotiations had begun as early as 1962/3.

Another possibility might be that Moe was readying Folkways for some type of larger arrangement of the sort eventually seen between Folkways and Scholastic or Folkways and MGM. In that case, such summaries would have to have been available in order to proceed with negotiations. Thus it makes some sense to have some information regarding the performance of the company. It has also been suggested that concerns over taxation were partly behind these summaries, but given that two different sets of CPAs compiled the reports (Orenstein and Orenstein for the 1964 reports; Becker and Becker for the 1965 reports), these actions were probably not part of a larger organized tax plan.

Whatever the motivation to have these summaries done, it most likely came from within Folkways, as both sets of summaries note that all the information was submitted by management and thus was not independently verified. It would be most logical that if the summaries were requested by outside sources that such financial information would be independently verified.[15] Some interesting observations and conclusions can be drawn from a comparison of Table 7.5 and Table 7.6. A brief summary of the reports shows some interesting trends:

	Year ending 30 June 1964[16]	Year ending 30 June 1965
Net Assets	$ 193 405	$ 238 962 [152 036][17]
Taxes payable (including excise)	17 769	35 487
Gross Profit	84 588	86 718
Gross Profit (less declared royalties)	80 993	57 754
Net Profit	6 570	10 310
Net Sales	443 445	354 202
Debts owed by officers of the company	79 030	92 005

Overall, the adjusted net assets of the company did not substantially change from 1964 to 1965. However, all of the other indicators show that Folkways was starting to

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[15] The question remains, however, whether anyone other than 'management' could make any sense of Folkways.

[16] Numbers have been rounded up or down to the nearest dollar for comparison. See tables for the figures as they were given on the original documents.

[17] The bracketed value is the adjusted value. In the 1964 report the estimated value of the master recordings ($50 000) was not included in the asset calculation. Furthermore, in 1965, a projected excise tax rebate of $36 926 was included because of the repeal of the excise tax. This would have been a liability in 1964.

slide financially in 1965, particularly if royalty incomes are factored out.[18] If the royalty incomes are included for both years, one sees an approximately equal gross profit against a substantially lower nets sales which would indicate better economic performance, with gross profit representing 24.5% of net sales in 1965 against 19.1% in 1964. However, if the royalty incomes are removed from the gross profit calculations, the performance of Folkways falls substantially in 1965 to 16.3% compared to 18.3% in 1964.

Furthermore, if one removes the royalty income from the income statements of each year, the net profits also drop substantially. In 1964 net profit drops to $2 974. In 1965, however, it is a drastic change: $10 310 to $-18 654. This is a potentially life-threatening fall for Folkways and may well have been part of the push from Moe to solidify licensing income from some source - in this case, Scholastic. A note on the 1965 statement concerning the inclusion of the Master Records line item adds the following: "In May 1965, the company [Folkways] concluded an agreement with a major record company [it is not stated, but it is assumed to be Scholastic] for the licensing of a certain group of masters. The company [Folkways] is to receive the following: $35 000 the first year, $45 000 for the second and third year and $50 000 for the fourth and fifth year".

A second and very important feature of these statement is the line regarding the debts owed by officers of the company. One can reasonably assume that the debt was incurred by Moe, as a note regarding the 1965 statement indicates that:

> The amount shown as loans payable [$92 005] represents balances accumulated principally in prior years, as due to a director of the company. Management has advised us that this indebtedness is to be treated as a non-current liability, as the company does not intend to repay any part thereof during the ensuing twelve month period.

The exact purpose for the loan(s) are unclear - they may or may not have been for personal use. However, there may be a potential link here with Moe's other company Pioneer Record Sales. Not much has been said to this point about this company, but the inclusion of transferred accounts receivable makes its participation in this case notable. On an asset line item on the 1965 balance sheets is included 'Accounts Receivable - Affiliated Company - $57 786'. A note to this line explains that:

> Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. is the exclusive distributor of the company's records to commercial sources. In addition, the company and 'Pioneer' share personnel and other operating costs. The allocation of such costs are based on an arbitrary percentage decided upon by Management. The balance in this receivable reflects the net balance of various charges and offsets.

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[18] Royalty income is a very fickle income. Compare $3 595 in 1964 to $28 964 in 1965. Profits minus royalty income will give a more accurate picture of the sales income of Folkways specifically, not just of licensed product.

The importance of this item is demonstrated primarily in two ways. First, in the absence of the transferred receivable, Folkways would have shown a net loss of almost $58 000, which in the context of balancing the books would make accounting much more difficult. However, this very difficulty leads to the second point. The presence of Pioneer seems to be in part - perhaps a substantial part - a response by Moe to the pressures of the recording industry against Folkways. For Folkways to have existed as a lone company, the pressures against it would be very pointed, and would have been - though there is no direct evidence of this - very likely fatal to Folkways early in its life. The presence of Pioneer in particular, appears to be the buffer that Folkways needed to protect it from the occasional slump in the market. Both the selective nature of sales - whether a sale is 'commercial' or not and whose books reflect the sale - and the discretionary interchange of assets between the two companies acts almost as an internal credit agency for Moe. Such maneuvering might also account for the final accountant's note on the 1965 report: "The company has not provided for any federal income taxes on the current year's net profit, as there is an operating loss carryover from prior years available to offset any tax liability."

Paired with each of the Table 7.5 and Table 7.6 income statements were more detailed statements of profit and loss for each year (Table 7.7 for 1964 and Table 7.8 for 1965). These statements provide a much more detailed breakdown of the basic costs involved in the Folkways operation during these periods. It is unfortunate that the statements were prepared by two different accounting agencies. After attempting to compare many of the line items between the two statements, it becomes clear that many of the income or cost categories have been defined in different ways and money appears to have been allocated to different categories in each statement.

There are a couple of observations that can be made concerning Table 7.7 (64-037) and Table 7.8 (65-040) that shed more information on the financial activity of Folkways. It appears that the production costs fell quite substantially from 1964 to 1965. However, the degree to which such costs fell is not clear. If both 'production costs' and 'salaries and handling' are included in the 1965 calculation, the drop is $ 48 506 (15%). If, on the other hand, the 1965 statement is read literally, the impression is that the production costs fell off by $ 150 129 (47%). It is, in my estimation, likely the actual figure is somewhere in between 15% and 47%. The inclusion of 'purchases' with 'direct production costs' in 1964 is vague enough to include or exclude a number of figures that might substantially alter the 1964 figure in comparison to 1965. The conclusion must be, however, that there was indeed a drop in production costs and the drop was substantial.

On a more mundane level, a consideration of base costs also provides some interesting figures, virtually all of which support the slowing production (and thus sales volumes) of Folkways in 1965. Salaries dropped by a little more than 2% (though these salary figures almost certainly did not include Moe's salary as a separate item). Rent dropped almost 21%, which is likely indicative of some type of consolidation of warehouse and office space.

However, the question of warehouse costs is an important one. With such a large catalog and a correspondingly large inventory, warehousing likely contributed the most to rental expenditures. For example, when Moe opened a wholesale sales office and showroom at 121 W. 47th Street in New York, his rental agreement stated a rate of $200/month from 1 May to 31 October 1957 (57-400). Dated 12 December 1958, a receipt for 'rent of stockroom plus services rendered' from Sam Goody (235 W. 49th St. NYC) shows that Moe paid $4000/per year for both 1957 and 1958. The rent of Moe's offices at 117 W. 46th St. likely grew to no more than perhaps 15% to 20% of his total rental costs, indicating the burden of storing such an enormous inventory. Unfortunately, more detailed information concerning length of time at certain locations and the like are currently unavailable.

In line with a loss of office space is the 27% drop in costs for office supplies, although it must be said that this is a vague category to begin with, so its accuracy may be questioned (particularly since other office supplies - postage and telephone, for instance - are not included). The curious item is the 'miscellaneous/general expenses' category. Given that there is such a drastic difference between the two entries (1964: $9 882, 1965: $1 698), the interest in discovering what is included or excluded is certainly piqued. Unfortunately, such information is not available.

The discussion of such expenses is interesting but must not be overly privileged. It is clear that while certain entries are represented in one year and not the other, it does not indicate that these expenses were not present. Moe's 'convention and traveling' expenses, for example, were almost certainly part of the accounting for almost every year of the life of Folkways. Therefore, differences in line items are much more a testament to different accounting procedures, and perhaps a degree of forethought to the taxation guidelines of the year, than to the presence or absence of certain types of expenditures or income sources. It should also be noted that the inclusion of certain figures - particularly the royalty income discussed above - makes Folkways appear much stronger financially than might otherwise be the case. Given the proximity of the

accounting to the Scholastic and MGM agreements, this fact should not be overlooked.[19]

TABLE 7.7

Statement of Profit and Loss for Year Ended June 30, 1964

SALES	448 455.42	
LESS DISCOUNTS	5 010.59	
NET SALES		443 444.83
COST OF GOODS SOLD		
MERCHANDISE INVENTORY JULY 1, 1963	117 250.00	
PURCHASES - DIRECT PRODUCTION COSTS	321 552.61	
		438 802.61
LESS: MERCHANDISE INVENTORY-JUNE 30, 1964	76 350.70	
COST OF GOODS SOLD		362 451.91
GROSS PROFIT		80 992.92
OPERATIONAL EXPENSES		
SALARIES	8 911.90	
ADVERTISING AND PROMOTION	30 955.27	
RENT	2 998.00	
TAXES	1 520.48	
INTEREST	3 868.14	
FREIGHT AND POSTAGE	4 939.35	
TELEPHONE	2 385.38	
PROFESSIONAL AND SECRETARIAL	6 623.80	
INSURANCE	768.39	
STATIONERY AND OFFICE SUPPLIES	3 393.20	
REPAIRS AND MAINTENANCE	308.30	
TRAVELING AND ENTERTAINING	612.01	
LEGAL	358.61	
GENERAL EXPENSES	9 882.35	
DEPRECIATION	493.34	
TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES		78 018.52
OPERATING INCOME	2 974.40	
OTHER INCOME - ROYALTIES	3 595.29	
NET PROFIT FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1964		6 596.69

[19] This is not to suggest that improper reporting is involved. Rather, it makes sense to use a reporting method that showed Folkways on its best financial footing. It should also be noted that the 1965 reporting was completed after both Scholastic and MGM agreements were concluded.

TABLE 7.8

Folkways Records Income Statement for Year Ended June 30, 1965

SALES - NET		$ 354 202
COST OF GOODS		
MERCHANDISE INVENTORY - JULY 1	$ 76 351	
PRODUCTION COSTS	171 424	
SALARIES AND HANDLING	101 623	
TOTAL	$ 349 398	
MERCHANDISE INVENTORY	52 950	
COST OF GOODS SOLD		296 448
GROSS PROFIT		$ 57 754
ROYALTY INCOME		28 964
TOTAL GROSS PROFIT		$ 86 718
OTHER COSTS		
CONVENTION AND TRAVELING	$ 17 378	
PROFESSIONAL AND LEGAL	6 846	
ROYALTIES	14 629	
SALARIES	8 703	
WAREHOUSE COSTS	6 055	
CLERICAL	3 330	
INTEREST	3 306	
NEW YORK CITY TAXES	2 868	
RENT	2 373	
POSTAGE	2 319	
TELEPHONE	2 068	
STATIONERY AND SUPPLIES	2 455	
MISCELLANEOUS	1 698	
DEPRECIATION - OFFICE EQUIPMENT	580	
INSURANCE	493	
PAYROLL TAXES	1 307	
TOTAL OTHER COSTS		76 408
NET PROFIT		$ 10 310

As a closing comment, however, what is most striking is the overall net profit / net sales ratio. In 1964, the net profit represented only 1.49% of the net sales, indicating an extremely thin profit margin in both relative percentage terms and dollar terms ($ 6 597). In 1965, this ratio nearly doubles to 2.91% on profit of $ 10 310. While it would be fair to place much of the credit for this improvement on the apparent

drop in production costs, I would still be more inclined to credit the inclusion of royalty income as the saving grace in both years. As mentioned above, factoring out the royalty income for each year leaves a net profit of $3 002 in 1964 and $-18 654 in 1965. This translates in net profit / net sales percentages of 0.67% and -5.23%, respectively. Though it may not have been representative of other years, the importance of royalty income in 1964 and, particularly, 1965 is yet another demonstration of the fine balance that Moe was able to manage to keep Folkways alive.

Pioneer Record Sales, Inc.

There also exists a fair amount of information concerning the operation of Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. during the 1960s. The difficulty has come in attempting to decipher the details of the relationship between Folkways and Pioneer beyond simply suggesting that Pioneer sold Folkways records. The financial records themselves do little to help clarify this situation. On the whole, the accounting in the Pioneer books have shown to be equally difficult to interpret (and often simply to read).

Table 7.9 below shows a summary of accounts receivable and accounts payable on a monthly basis from October 1961 to December 1963. Though the various account columns are relatively straightforward, the relationships between one category and another are not made clear at all in the original documents. The figures presented below are those that were felt to be consistent and meaningful within this context, and which could be presented with a relative amount of confidence. Further investigation would be necessary to establish the correct relationships between many of the summary figures.

There are a number of interesting items in Table 7.9 that should be noted. The first is the relationship between the Net Accounts Receivable 'Banked', Total Sales and the Net Payable owed by Pioneer. The chart below offers some summary figures for comparison:

	Net A/C Receivable 'Banked'	Total Sales	Net Payable	Net Payable to Folkways
10.61 - 12.61	82 278.53	88 430.02	82 511.48	33 793.85
01.62 - 12.62	307 150.75	386 066.41	304 025.91	174 209.11
01.63 - 12.63	386 337.60	447 579.72	379 964.07	207 501.59

A quick examination of the summary figures would suggest that Pioneer was doing exactly what it was supposed to do: sell Folkways records and draw a small

TABLE 7.9

Pioneer Record Sales Accounts Receivable and Payable: October 1961 - December 1963

Month End	Net A/C Receivable 'Banked'[20]	Total Sales[21]	Net Payable	Moe's Pay	General Labour[22] -		Total Labour (inc. Moe's salary	Net Payable to Folkways
10.61	25 388.10	24 419.19	27 042.47	510.00	2 020.27		2 530.27	12 158.81
11.61	32 772.49	38 380.58	30 475.84	720.00	2 366.01		3 056.01	10 919.17
12.61	24 117.94	25 630.25	24 993.17	360.00	1 967.03		2 327.03	10 715.87
1.62	26 939.31	35 703.10	25 234.87	1 080.00	2 558.88		3 638.88	18 429.87
2.62	42 025.64	33 698.52	34 709.87	1 955.00	2 147.47		4 102.47	16 943.07
3.62	41 524.71	40 441.84	36 840.11	1 430.00	2 168.17		3 598.17	21 802.66
4.62	22 038.21	29 073.62	16 183.73	510.00	2 162.33		2 672.33	16 183.73
5.62	28 376.00	24 570.95	35 760.11	565.00	2 531.90		3 096.90	11 395.34
6.62	25 483.51	69 030.20	25 055.79	670.49	2 386.53		3 057.02	9 530.42
7.62	23 856.43	22 623.21	24 475.72	1 255.00	2 313.80		3 568.80	11 906.95
8.62	16 319.84	30 703.67	20 486.79	380.00	1 943.55		2 323.55	15 924.04
9.62	24 755.23	27 589.86	19 004.53	825.00	1 654.37		2 479.37	14 172.84
10.62	20 439.54	25 238.22	21 232.90	770.00	2 532.25		3 302.25	12 322.75
11.62	22 060.62	29 132.07	24 552.70	840.00	2 117.14		2 957.14	14 715.80
12.62	13 381.71	18 261.24	20 488.79	465.00	2 872.45		3 351.45	10 881.64
					General	Clerical[23]		
1.63	29 964.56	27 330.00	32 308.76	856.00	1 796.60	235.00	2 887.60	14 205.84
2.63	18 265.86	22 906.66	18 884.32	1 056.00	1 931.00	200.00	3 187.00	11 838.30
3.63	23 562.86	17 854.25	24 101.53	1 103.23	1 592.13	500.00	3 195.36	9 006.58
4.63	21 119.65	21 391.29	20 149.72	706.00	1 906.76	1 620.00	4 232.76	10 669.68
5.63	21 439.28	29 902.94	18 020.93	1 190.00	1 425.85	1 110.00	3 725.85	16 655.30
6.63	26 220.47	15 436.35	29 059.51	910.00	1 781.45	640.00	3 331.45	7 753.98
7.63	35 266.79	37 213.51	31 030.25	1 510.00	2 369.15	1 420.00	5 299.15	20 077.42
8.63	38 957.27	57 086.53	34 442.09	2 205.09	1 769.54	1 525.00	5 499.63	38 446.45
9.63	48 888.09	95 855.52	46 576.70	1 821.23	2 605.54	1 340.00	5 766.77	19933.37[24]
10.63	39 025.37	49 939.87	40 663.15	2 843.52	3 421.97	1 340.00	7 605.49	25 037.33
11.63	47 969.76	44 434.44	38221.50[25]	1 851.17	2 695.80	1 685.00	6 231.97	20 159.04
12.63	35 657.64	28 228.36	46 505.61	1634.46	3 987.46	1 675.00	7 296.92	13 718.30

[20] This total is taken from a book total that appears to represent the amount actually received and 'banked' against previous accounts owing, for the month listed.

[21] Total sales figures are taken from a single figure labeled as such on the summary sheets of the account books. The total accounts receivable owing is consistently the same as the total sales given. Therefore, the total accounts receivable is the same for each month as the total sales for that month.

[22] As noted in below, 'general help' appears to mainly refer to warehouse-type labor. Typically, this payroll amount was for 5 employees.

[23] The payroll summary does not include an entry for 'clerical' until this point. It is an important separation as it appears that 'general help' is basically warehouse work - inventory, filling orders, shipping and receiving. The inclusion of a 'clerical' category suggests that the office work was becoming increasing pressing on Moe and the rest of the staff.

[24] This particular amount is taken from the column total as there was no summary total available in the summary for this month.

[25] This is an estimated amount based on the amounts given on the summary sheets.

small profit in the process. The comparison of net receivables and net payables indicate that there was just a little bit of profit to be drawn from the difference (1.0% in 1962, 1.7% in 1963). In fact, the margin appears to be so slim that for the last three months of 1961, Pioneer seems to be running a deficit of $232.95.

It is interesting to note that this period does not actually represent the high-sales period of the calendar year. These three months, which would be expected to be a good time for seasonal sales, only represents 27.4% of 1963 and only 18.8% of sales in 1962. Hardly the spike that such a gift-giving rush would generate. Indeed, the peak sales months in Table 7.9 are September 1963 ($95 855.52), June 1962 ($69 030.20) and August 1963 ($57 086.53), respectively. This is clearly suggestive of the academic school year, with sales peaking at the beginning and the end of the school year. This also supports the contention that Moe focused directly on the academic market.

This academic trend is perhaps most intriguing when compared with many of the figures already discussed in the previous section on Folkways. Much of the Folkways accounting suggests quite strongly that efforts were, in fact, directed to the December gift-giving period. This is confirmed by the considerable sums spent through Lee-Myles directly or the $30 955.27 cost for 'Advertising and Promotion' in Table 7.7. However, the Pioneer accounts seem to reflect the academic/institutional sales market. Indeed, it is likely that the majority of funds were spent on attending conferences and exhibitions as a means of informing the academic market. As Moe could not approach the retail market in the same way, it would make good business sense to hire a specialist in retail advertising, as well as continuing to support the efforts of Larry Sockell to keep retail outlets informed and stocked with current releases.

A critical category in the above summary is the net payable figure for Folkways. Such a category should naturally be expected given that Pioneer is the exclusive distributor of Folkways and as such would be expected to owe Folkways a certain percentage of the net sales. In this case, the figures account for about 45% of sales in 1962 and slightly more than 46% in 1963. However, what is missing is the matching accounting in the Folkways books. It is regrettable that the corresponding financial statements are not available for Folkways in 1962 and 1963. With growth in Pioneer from 1962 to 1963 of 15.9% in total sales and a growth of 19.1% in the payments to Folkways, it would be a reasonable assumption to make that such payments should continue at least within the same degree of magnitude in 1964 and 1965. An examination of the Folkways statements (Tables 7.5 and 7.6), however, show no evidence of such an income stream. The only possible entries that might account for

this transfer are found in the undisclosed 1964 'Accounts Receivable' line item for $112 473.13 and the 1965 item 'Accounts Receivable - Affiliated Company' for $57 786. Neither amount comes even close to the amounts suggests in the Pioneer accounting.

The likely explanation for this discrepancy seems to be an accounting that draws figures for both companies from a single cash flow stream. This is strongly suggested by the fact that in Table 7.10 (paired with Table 7.11) below, the 'Accounts Receivable - Affiliated Company' line item has Folkways owing Pioneer $22 839. An additional liability is listed as the 'Loans Payable' line item of $52 624. The accountants identify this amount as

> a net total of various unrelated loans from several sources, including loans from related companies, in which the Company's sole stockholder has a substantial interest. Management advised us that this indebtedness is to be treated as a non-current liability since the company does not intend to repay any part thereof in the next twelve month period.

Even though it is possible that Pioneer does indeed owe to a variety of companies, it is most likely Folkways, as outside companies would likely not permit Pioneer to not remit payment for a twelve month period. Perhaps the best explanation for such an intertwined accounting is the note attached to the 'Accounts Receivable - Affiliated Company' item: "Folkways Records Service Corp., and the Company [Pioneer] share personnel, and other operating costs. The allocation of such costs are based on an arbitrary percentage decided upon by management" (65-029). Thus, the interrelationship of the two companies has clearly become pivotal in maintaining a more resilient financial foundation from which to continue to produce and sell recordings.

Examination of these financial statements in many ways raises more questions than they answer. For example, it is not clear whether the labour costs listed in Table 7.9 above, are separately listed between Folkways and Pioneer. As they shared office space and personnel, they likely were the same employees. Yet, their wages were listed as specific costs on Tables 7.7 and 7.8 for Folkways, as well as Table 7.11 for Pioneer. Furthermore, most of the basic expenses listed on Table 7.7 and Table 7.11 are repeated for the same year: rent, telephone, professional and legal, interest, office expenses, cost and depreciation of office equipment, and office salaries. If such an arrangement was acceptable to the authorities (especially taxation), then Moe was very clever to organize his business affairs the way he did. As there is no evidence that any of the declared information is incorrect for either Pioneer or Folkways, and two sets of CPAs were involved in organizing the financial material, I would suggest that this was likely a very useful loophole which Moe exploited to the greatest extent possible.

TABLE 7.10

Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. Balance Sheet December 31, 1964 (65-029: Exhibit A)

ASSETS			
CURRENT ASSETS			
CASH OVERDRAFT		(3 620)	
NOTES RECEIVABLE - CUSTOMERS	$ 14 215		
LESS - NOTES RECEIVABLE DISCOUNTED	14 215		
ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE - CUSTOMERS		58 479	
MERCHANDISE INVENTORY - SUBMITTED		63 929	
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS			118 788
ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE - AFFILIATED COMPANY (NOTE 1)			22 839
FURNITURE AND EQUIPMENT		$ 5 874	
LESS - ACCUMULATED DEPRECIATION		2 958	2 916
OTHER ASSETS			125
TOTAL			$ 144 668
LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL			
CURRENT LIABILITIES			
NOTES PAYABLE - BANK (NOTE 2)[26]		$ 21 000	
NOTES PAYABLE - TRADE		23 611	
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE - TRADE		15 771	
TAXES PAYABLE		5 626	
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES			$ 66 008
LOANS PAYABLE (NOTE 3)			52 624
CAPITAL STOCK		$ 2 606	
RETAINED EARNINGS - JANUARY 1 1964	$ 22 569		
NET PROFIT - FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1964	861		
RETAINED EARNINGS - DECEMBER 31, 1964		23 430	26 036
TOTAL			$ 144 668

[26] Note 2 - The Company is indebted to the Franklin National Bank in the amount of $21,000.00 repayable in equal monthly installments.

TABLE 7.11

Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. Income Statement for Year Ended December 31, 1964[27] (65-029: Exhibit B)

SALES - NET			$ 325 413
COST OF GOODS			
MERCHANDISE INVENTORY - JANUARY 1		$ 52 650	
PURCHASES		216 560	
TOTAL		$ 269 210	
MERCHANDISE INVENTORY - DECEMBER 31		63 929	
COST OF GOODS SOLD			205 281
GROSS PROFIT			$ 120 132
SELLING EXPENSES			
SALESMAN'S SALARY	$ 2 000		
COMMISSIONS	14 005		
SHIPPING SALARIES	24 244		
PAYROLL TAXES	4 322		
TRAVELING AND CONVENTION EXPENSES	13 141		
BAD DEBTS	2 767		
UNION WELFARE	877		
CHRISTMAS EXPENSES	1 330		
TOTAL		$ 62 686	
ADMINISTRATION EXPENSES			
OFFICER'S SALARY	$ 12 123		
OFFICE SALARIES	14 098		
RENT	2 076		
MISCELLANEOUS	5 732		
TELEPHONE	3 919		
PROFESSIONAL AND LEGAL	6 329		
OFFICE EXPENSES	1 548		
INTEREST	5 825		
INSURANCE	2 420		
DEPRECIATION - OFFICE EQUIPMENT	821		
COLLECTION CHARGES	478		
OTHER TAXES	973		
TOTAL		56 342	
TOTAL EXPENSES			119 028

[27] There is an attached 'Note 4' which does not have a specific reference to a line-item on either statement, but which reads: "In May 1965, Folkways Records and Service Corp. entered into two contracts, which may materially affect the operation of the Company. One contract provides that Pioneer will receive no less than $15,000.00 for the first year, and $20,000.00 annually for the following four years for relinquishing exclusive distribution rights to the "Folkways" catalogue. The effect of the second contract cannot be determined at this time."

Moe's Money

One of the central questions that has circulated throughout investigations of Folkways is that of Moe's income. There have often been accusations of exploitation of artists based primarily on the failure of Folkways to pay appropriate royalties to artists. However, the books indicate that Moe was not attempting to squeeze excessive amounts of income out of artists, Folkways, or any of the other enterprises that he controlled. Indeed, one comes away being somewhat surprised that, as the sole controlling interest in many of his projects, he did not assign himself a more generous salary package.

The salary that Moe was drawing from Pioneer was very reasonable in comparison to that of his other employees. In fact, a number of observations are worth making about the Pioneer entries, but that are not shown on the summary presented here. First, Moe very rarely took his salary at the same time as the rest of his regular employees. This was sensible from the point of view that to take such a large sum out of a fragile cash-flow situation would be dangerous. His regular employees were normally paid weekly, whereas Moe typically drew a single paycheck, usually toward the end month. He enforced all of the normal payroll deductions that he and his other regular employees were subject. Furthermore, Moe submitted his payroll taxes with surprising consistency, given the disarray of the rest of the office.

Finally, Moe appeared to let his pay float with the level of income for that month. If there was not much left after paying accounts and employees, Moe's pay would often drop. Similarly, if the month had particularly good cash-flow, he might pay himself a little more. Examination of the Pioneer accounts (Table 7.9 above) show that Moe's salary could change more than $900 in a single month: from March 1962 to April 1962 his salary changed from $1 430 to $510 - a drop of $920. This shows quite clearly his commitment to the company and to maintaining his cash-flow.

That is not to say, of course, that Moe did not do well for himself. The most interesting observation is that Moe appeared to receive pay according to his activities. The Commissions list below (Table 7.12) appeared as a summary document among the financial records. It is important because it quite clearly demonstrates that Moe was taking quite a healthy paycheck for sales commissions, apparently separate from his Pioneer salary. The amounts vary, of course, but on average it appears that Moe was averaging between $1500 and $2500 a month in commission income in the late 1950s.

It is not clear, however, if this income continued for Moe as Larry Sockell became Moe's Sales Manager at about this time. As Larry recalled, by the mid-1960s he was making about $25 000 a year from Moe (LS-1). Thus, it is likely that the

TABLE 7.12

Commissions Due Moe Asch, 1958-59.

Date	Amount	Total Paid
3.15.58	579.99	
3.29.58	468.92	
4.05.58	351.58	
5.1-7.58	—	
5.17.58	462.03	
5.24.58	322.30	
6.07.58	270.65	
6.14.58	353.84	
6.21.58	346.67	
6.28.58	243.78	
	3.399.76	[pd. 9.3.58]
7.14.58	659.86	
7.19.58	299.46	
7.26.58	605.83	1 559.35
8.01.58	373.67	
8.08.58	441.42	
8.15.58	424.00	
8.23.58	463.29	
8.30.58	393.94	2 096.32
9.06.58	503.26	
9.13.58	571.11	
9.20.58	571.55	
9.27.58	502.25	
10.03.58	545.36	
10.11.58	545.87	
10.18.58	313.76	
10.25.58	431.14	1 836.13
11.01.58	764.23	
11.08.58	470.01	
11.15.58	423.24	
11.22.58	435.63	
11.29.58	692.11	2 785.22
12.06.58	607.20	
12 13.58	626.44	
12.20.58	436.80	
12.30.58	341.07	[2 011.51] 12 437.70[28]

[28] This is the year-end total, not including the initial $3 399.76 already paid. The section total above was not in the original, but included here for reference.

commission income that Moe was enjoying in the late 1950s began to go to Larry after 1960 - certainly the amounts listed in Table 7.11 and Table 7.12 would support such an annual income.There is no question that much of the financial data presented here are unique in the investigation of recording companies. However, along with its revelation comes much frustration. The data raise issues that at this point must simply be left for the time being. Whether additional financial records were generated or whether the documents held by the archive are the only sets that exist may never be known. Either scenario raises questions about Moe's actual financial situation.

One area in particular that would be of great interest is the relationship between Moe and copyright ownership or control. There is some evidence that Moe was quite closely connected with The Richmond Organization and Telra Film Sales, Inc. These were, by all indications, both outlets through which Moe could license the use of Folkways material of which he had control. To what extent he actual owned copyrights is not clear - and may never be. However, it does seem at this preliminary stage that Moe had other income deriving from licensing, publishing and possibly other endeavors. The fact that there is little evidence in the Folkways material is not surprising. It is unlikely that such income would make an appearance on any formal financial statements regarding Folkways or Pioneer. If it were necessary for the operation of either company, Moe likely would have used the income as needed and thus it would not have been reported in the company books.

Whatever the outcome of Moe's other endeavors may be, it is clear that he knew the importance of additional business interests and the importance of keeping these interests arms-length from Folkways itself. At the same time, as was shown above, Pioneer and Folkways formed an impressive and important central business partnership for Moe that - perhaps unofficially - served to protect and support both ventures.

The most important point to make concerning the myth of Moe's money management is that there is little doubt that Moe fulfilled his financial responsibilities. He paid business and payroll taxes as regularly as can be expected and appeared to pay his employees, including himself, fairly. There have been many that would disagree, particularly concerning royalty payments. However, I would suggest in Moe's defense that he did the best he could given his very small staff. If someone was overlooked for royalties, he would simply use their prompting for payment as a cue to calculate what was owed. There was little reason for Moe to believe that he actually owed many of his artists much money given both his contractual arrangements and the persistently low sales of most of his titles.

CHAPTER 8

IDEOLOGY, CHOICE AND MAKING RECORDS

The issue of the political position of Folkways is important to this project because it offers something other than pure commodity capitalism as a means to understand the company. In particular, the political or ideological position of Folkways in large part defined the kind of company it was, or more importantly, the kind of company that it did not want to be. However, the question of identifying the political position of Folkways is a particularly difficult proposition beyond impressions and anecdotes. Even Goldsmith's 1998 biography of Moe Asch is not able to adequately explain many of the questions that Moe's behaviour raised throughout his lifetime.

I will not attempt something so lofty as a psychological profile of Moe. That would truly be of little service in this particular context. What would be useful, at least to provide some illustration of the kinds of commitments that Moe made in his own life and for Folkways, would be to show a part of Moe that has not been evident to this point. I would like to leave many of the words in the next section to Moe who was never shy about providing an opinion. However, by way of an introduction, Goldsmith (1998:161-62) provides a broad stroke that describes something of the roots of Moe's unusual character:

> ...Asch's own view is based on a belief in the possibility of a progressive capitalism, harnessed to the service of humanity. In this view of the world, big things are inevitably the enemy: "Big things are to fight, to kill, to exterminate; the trusts, gangsters, cartels, nations." He visualizes the need for 'many small people,' rather than 'the masses,' fighting individually against the 'machine.' "We call people small and visualize the world to be as composed of 'small people doing big things.'" .... He believes in individualism, in the ability of the 'small guy' to make a difference. And, surprisingly, he expresses the need for a God to remind man that there is something still bigger than the 'big' and necessarily 'bad' forces that threatened to overwhelm him: "We are taught as a child to beware of the 'Boogey man' who will snatch us; to fight the cruel 'bad big Boys' to show that we small can lick the bad big. How different then the boy in Russia who is taught that he is big in the sense that he has the might on his side and that the opponent is small (bad)."

Moe was also realistic about recording and the nature of the recording industry. Goldsmith (1998:6) continues:

> ...Asch claimed not to be particularly concerned about the purposes to which his recordings were put once on the market. But neither was he naive about these purposes. He expected at the very least that his recordings would contribute to international, interracial, or interethnic understanding; and the only time he ever hesitated to release material on political grounds was when he believed that its lack of 'truth' would undermine the cause of human understanding. Almost any recorded sound could be regarded as true as long as its creation was not overwhelmingly motivated by a desire to make money or to cause harm to others.

As an example of this position on recording, one can turn to a letter that Moe wrote in response to an inquiry from H. L. Weaver of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities (64-057). Moe wrote:

In reply to your inquiry regarding "music of Israel, or music in the Hebrew language" please be advised that we at Folkways are temporarily discontinuing the sale and issue of any material that comes from the state of Israel. It seems that government through its copyright laws does not protect a peoples music but permits individuals to copy and transcribe native material no matter what its original source. Persian, Bukharian, Yemenite, European or Biblical and through its reciprocal treaty with the United States it permits individuals to collect a tax (royalty) on American record companies that is both absurd and prohibitive. In the U.S. we have a statuary [sic] fee for such matters and we protect as best as we can through out constitution peoples music (public domain) especially its sources. and age.

At the beginning we all were proud and anxious to disseminate the new and old of Palestine. We at Folkways were the first American company to see the need for such documentation and we have issued both the indigenous music and songs of the region and later the composed material. Now we find ourselves because of this in an impossible situation of paying taxes and tributes and being threatened with law suits unless we pay what the Israelites demand....

It is clear that a good portion of the criticism that Moe aims at Israel in this case is drawn from economic concerns. Nonetheless, there is a clear foundation of disdain for the sort of government that would allow such an action against its own cultural traditions. Four years following this statement, Moe re-affirms his position, but nonetheless lets the economic concerns override political concerns. In a letter to Richard Howson of Lowndes Productions Ltd., London, Moe writes:

You may use the tracks from my record 8712 at $100.00 per selection.

The less you say about the Israel Embassy, the Israel authorities etc. the better. For your information Hadassah and other groups including the Information Office of the Israel Embassy in NY wanted to use my records for propaganda films[.] [T]hey found out the ACUM controls all the FOLK music of Israel. Should any of my selection[s] be taken off the film and copyrighted by you with ACUM or any other publisher controlled outfit I will sue and throw the whole thing into public domain through our copyright laws.

Any government that permits its heritage of folk music and musical-peoples culture to be controlled by a commercial outfit and charges for its use is no good. This is why I MUST have payment for your use of my material especially if its for Israel propaganda purposes.

I must also insist that Folkways gets credit on the credit frames as the source for these cuts.

It seems most peculiar that the response to Moe's outrage would be to demand that he get paid and get credit for use, *especially* if it is in a propaganda film.

Along the same vein, Moe wrote to Toshi Seeger concerning difficulties at Newport Folk Festival[1] (64-061):

...I take great pride that I am a documentor and a deposit rather than an owner with rights....

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[1] The details of the problems that Moe had with the Newport Folk Festival will not be discussed at length here. Goldsmith (1998:323-324) discusses this issue in greater depth, especially in reference to the letter quoted below.

At the time of creativity when the energy...is channeled to produce just to show and expose what is meant by a "People's culture and expression of material of or in Folk music, one's body and soul is guided and directed to the issuance of material no matter who may benefit for their own private gains the material exposed. Later through the efforts of these capitalists and through the material being true and honest and needed the whole field of exposese [sic] becomes a package that is and can be exploited toward a money making profit, gaining property, protected copyright owned goods. Even and perhaps because the package has truth as its base.

Of course the course of the river of any truth can and must be distorted to make more and more profit as only the salable becomes the commodity, what comes out then is a division of the truth on one side the truth unadorned and on the other the man made man developed man conceived if you will, in its horrible lie a material that 'can sell' what we generally call commercial....

Certainly I know that one has to feed cloth and shelter protect insure etc. But one has to invest and nurse and protect the future. If not us then who?

A month later a letter to Pete Seeger followed (65-006). Again the subject was in reference to Newport but obviously Moe needed to clear the air regarding particular issues concerning the industry and the politics within it.

... I will be brief: I will only discuss Folkways as a company and my association with it. Let past history take care of itself. I will wait after I have some leisure time to write about that.

Folkways has always been vulnerable because after the war II and the demise of DISC the way of business (life) has been influence by the IBM machine, tape, memory banks etc. in other words by being commercial.

Many record companies have been formed and people and attitudes that had no relationship with a past came into being. No tradition but a way of life that was acceptable.

Folkways because of me could not do this and even communication with Marian [Distler] was broken.

I have always been associated with associations, with a logic and a purpose. Because of this Folkways has been always vulnerable while its competitors have always been 'clean' and so have been 'accepted' and financial[ly] stable.

When Ralph [Rinzler] came to me and said he needed money for recording and notes on items I felt were not of interest to my competitors. I laid out the money, much money, money which in the economy of Folkways should have been spent on other products and returned for more uses. The reason I permitted this money to go to Ralph's projects was that I had been knifed by Vanguard and put in a position that unless I cooperated with people at Newport Artists such as the New Lost City Ramblers that have exclusive contracts with me would be left out. Since Newport represents the FOLK MUSIC OF AMERICA any one or any organization not cooperating is against American Folk Music...I am the only one against Folk Music....

We live and I will die with association. My whole life is based on association. You cannot escape it as long as you believe in something.

I am happy I am not Newport. I am happy I am not ELEKTRA. I am happy I am not Vanguard. I am happy I am not Columbia. I am happy I am FOLKWAYS. For how long, God how long?

The theme of Moe's associations are indeed a pervasive one. Of particular interest are not so much formal associations (for example, many of the education-based associations that he was a member of), but Moe's less formalized, but still powerful, personal associations. The first example of this is a somewhat peculiar but very pointed letter rebutting commentary by Martin Luther King, Jr. via a letter to the Editor of The New York

Times[2] (65-007 - note that it was written only two days after the previous letter to Pete Seeger).

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

My dear Martin Luther King, Jr.

In reply to yours to the Editor of The New York Times in which you 'add your voice, etc.' re the Jewish people and the Soviet Union, I humbly and with all humility beg to answer.

I do not consider myself among 'distinguished Americans.' I believe, first of all, that all Americans are 'distinguished.' Does the acceptance of the Nobel Prize make you 'better or more distinguished' than others? If so, please remove your robe and calling, for you have fallen for the Golden Idol.

I can write you in this vein because I am an American, not from accident of birth but from choice. I have done my best to be as controversial as possible in order to show cause and the injustice to my brothers.

I have been caused to get hurt because of this, not physically as you have recently, but in ways that do not heal so easily. After all, doing this is a way of life for all who believe in justice and rights and dignity....

As a Jew and as an American I must answer the accusation and say that I do not hold with the Jews who are Jews first and Americans or Russians or Frenchmen second. My homeland is not Palestine or Israel. I believe that Crispus Attucks died for me in the Revolution and not just for Negroes or Colonials. Because of him I am able to function and protest.

I do not hold brief with Jews who use the temple or religion as a propaganda forum in the guise of God and the Bible by saying one is not a Jew unless on lives in Israel (Palestine) as the Hebrewites in Israel have us believe. I am against the narrow and archaic concept that the Bible meant physical Israel and not the spiritual. That the government of Israel would have us believe, and the Israelites have us converted to.

Have you any knowledge of the cultural heritage and expression in Russia of the Jews as put against this in the United States? How many cultural institutions, theaters, newspapers, etc. are there here as against the Russian? I do not, and I get as many reports and read as many newspapers as my fellow man. I did not read of your protest of the displaced Arabs by the Irsaelites. But of course, they are Mohammedans and not Christian (Jews); my father would have loved to see the faces of the Orthodox Jews which you defend had you done so. Now, please don't mix the professional Hebrews with the Jewish heritage. I am a Jew, Not an Israelite or Hebrewite. I am a culture and a heritage, not property.

Please get the facts first. You owe an obligation to your name and heritage and culture and protest.

* * *

Moe continued to defend the integrity not only of his own relationships and association, but the integrity and obligations of other to material that he felt was important. In a letter to Broadside Magazine in 1965 (65-049), Moe even jumps to the defense of another company regarding the release of important material:

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[2] The letter is taken from a carbon copy made when typed, so it is assumed that it was sent to the New York Times. To my knowledge it was not published.

I usually ignore criticism good or bad written about the records I produce. But I thought that Broadside would have enough sense to understand its moral obligation to help BIG COMPANIES whenever they go out on a limb and issue an unreleased album such as the Woody Guthrie. I put the tapes (from acetates: please there was a time when Asch recorded on glass based acetates) of material I thought would show Woody in a point of reference a little bit different than the usual one of known Woody material that I recorded. It is impossible to have a worst of Woody or a worst of Asch or a worst of any folk. You have no right to judge being no God, of what is good fork or bad folk. Folk is people and all folk or people are good.

You have buried Woody all that is left is "technically bad" and I own all thats left unreleased even after Woody got sick. (but the recordings are excellent since I recorded these) using tapes. (after the war).

Technicals be damned Broadsides be damned. Be slick be correct.

[In a P.S. below the signature] I see that Broadsides 'will be studied seriously 100 years etc.' see last unnumbered page #63 I think Woody will last that long not Broadsides.

Following a response by Gordon Friesen from Broadside Magazine, Moe replies (65-050) in part:

...I hope this is the last letter regarding this issue.

1st I AM an engineer I recorded in person more than 10,000 cuts. I approved the Verve Folkways release of Woody. Verve does not do anything without my OK. It is a Folkways product not an MGM one....I try with all my person to keep the quality of the recording to the true sound of the original and not supped (sic) up or deequalized so that 'good sound' is heard and not the real sound. I had hoped that all you people had read the Time piece two weeks ago as how 'sound' is used in this electronic age to dope and delude people.

The only obligation I have to anybody including Woody or Broadside is to be true to them and not in the image of those who wishing to be liked by all become the mirror of 'all'.

Later, Moe ran into difficulties with the associations made between his materials and the context in which they are presented. In a letter to E. A. DiResta of Dirco Enterprises concerning licensing arrangements, Moe adds in the last paragraph (65-056):

At this time I would like to point out that I am becoming very reluctant to work with the magazine "America" and/or the Jesuit order in the United States, since there seems to be no discrimination in the type of advertising your publication accepts. To me as a Jew and person interested in dissemination of information, it is most obnoxious to see the back page of "America" (September 25 issue...), in which culture is equated with a piggy bank and money.

Six months later, Moe sent a letter to his attorney, Miles Lourie, indicating that the magazine AMERICA had published an advertisement that included several unauthorized references to Folkways (66-014). Fortunately, in a follow-up letter from Lourie to DiResta shortly after Moe's complaint, it appeared as though they were on their way to an agreement (66-015).

A very informative letter addressed "To Whom it may Concern" outlines very clearly how concerned Moe was about the use of his name and the types of associations with whom he was connected. Further, in the last part of the letter he pleads just for some common sense - an approach some might say is unusual for Moe (65-057).

During a get together at a breakfast table at Newport this summer (the discussion was to be the NEW SING OUT!) Irwin Silber spoke to me about the possibility of using the Carnegie Hall date for a SING-IN FOR PEACE instead of the usual SING OUT! yearly event, and would I have $1000.00 available together with others for a guarantee on the house. Naturally I agreed. Next I saw the August 10th release.

I saw my name associated with this and wanting to be sure that use of my name was subject to my control, asked that all letters and announcements were seen by me before publication.

The next thing I saw was an ad in the New York Times announcing a concert to be held at Carnegie Hall with the term "Viet Nam" added to the previous head. I then asked that my name be removed from any business and letter heads that the "Committee' might issue. I demanded and will always demand the right of the use of my name in a way that I would approve and not to the discretion of any committee. Then I saw the letter of sept. 3rd, 3 pages that the Committee sent out. Please notice that the letter head states: SING-IN FOR PEACE COMMITTEE while the 3rd paragraph uses the term: "...its primary purposes:...to make a public statement..etc..on Viet Nam"....

NOW A PLEA FOR CONSIDERATION:

The letter of Nov. 8th asks you to, not only spend the money in publicizing your name with the funds collected from people who paid admission to a SING-IN FOR PEACE concert but that you should add "at least $10.00" to give to the New York Times or the Washington Post. I am sure that the coffers of these bullwacks of the government policy do not need to be lined with the money collected for a peace movement in order to publicize your name or what you stand for. Or for that matter (with all the libido (sic) printed) does SING OUT!

1) Enclosed please find a letter of plea for money from SCLC.

2) I feel pretty sure that an ambulance or blood may be needed by the Vietcong or the people living there. See the Quakers on this.

3) $3,439.15 is a lot of money to those who need help. It may be only a minute in the income of the press "that is fit to print".

Please, please, please spend this money wisely.

Moe even allowed himself to criticize one of his most important customer groups: academic institutions. Addressed to the editors of *Ethnomusicology*, Moe goes on to write (66-005)[3]:

I am deeply concerned with the reviews on Folkways Records as they appear in your current Latin American Issue. In spite of the tremendous amount of time money and effort spent on collecting the Ethnomusicology of the world little was done in Bolivia (as an example). An American young oil engineer went there fell in love with the people and recorded them as he saw and documented them. I without any thought of monetary return (as you can gather from the material) issued these recordings on Folkways. All I asked the man was 'please do not guess or amplify, just put down what you saw and know'. Now my good friend List writes that the notes are 'unfortunately too scanty'. Nor did he ask about how they were recorded. Well let me tell you why the 'high incidence of surface noise': namely the recordings were done on ACETATE based discs. Not every one has the facilities and the dough of the GREAT RICH ENDOWED universities like Indiana et al. I still am dedicated to the issuance of material I feel needs to see the light of day, no matter in how 'high fidelity stereo supped (sic) up sound even the Ethnomusicologist may desire. We will see who last longest. The documentation or the sound.

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[3] Moe's comments certainly didn't seem to offend anybody at *Ethnomusicology*. He was invited as an honored guest at the Anuual Meeting of the Society of Ethnomusicology in 1967, to "acknowledge your splendid service to the field of ethnomusicological study in the form of the steady stream of musical information that you have produced from around the world. We could not have functioned in many areas without your recordings." (67-014).

It seems to me that all of you scientists are looking at the surface (no pun intended) not at the content.

Yours with grief...

Moe again directs pointed criticism at the educational quarter, this time against permission to use some Folkways material in an purely educational filmstrip produced by The Associated Press. In response to a request to use part of FC 7350[4] (66-022), Moe responds (66-023):

Since I am also in education and I am PROFIT therefore I have to pay taxes, salaries etc without deductions and I am dedicated to record most sounds found on earth I believe and feel that I MUST be supported by tax exempt and any other person people or organization that uses my material. I am NOT supported by the state nation or anyone but by my customers. I also sell to education.

THEREFORE:

I must get payment. I want $25.00 AND credit for the rights you want in your letter of the 6th.

Finally, Moe takes on the public library system in a letter to the director of the Berkeley Public Library in Berkeley, California concerning a request for free records (64-010):

In answer to your letter...This is one of the many problems in the Unites States of a free society working under an individualistic endeavor.

We have come across this case only once before by RCA donation to the Philadelphia Public Library and because of the RCA donations the Philadelphia Public Library did not purchase or display any other records but RCA.

In the past couple of years, because of the pressure of circulation, the Philadelphia Public Library has even purchased a considerable number of Folkways Records.

We are a small record company and every record we produce must be paid for - we cannot write off excessive profits by donating 250 or any amount of records as gifts. Columbia Records, being the leading record company in terms of sales, seems to be able to do this.... I believe it is unfair, un-American, un-Constitutional for an organization such as yours, supported by Public Funds, to make such demands as outlined in your letter.

All I can say is that the World would be poorer in the knowledge of others and ourselves if Folkways Records were not present.

cc - Mr. Munly, Art & Music, Berkeley
cc - Mr. Rasusin, RIAA [Recording Industry Association of America]
cc - Mr. Orenstein, Orenstein, Arrow & Lourie [Folkways' attorney]
cc - Mr. Marek, RCA Victor
cc - Mr. Lieberson, Columbia Records.

* * *

As this section has shown, Moe was indeed a complex, opinionated human being. But there is also little doubt that he had a strong social sense and a clear sense of his boundaries with respect to the rest of the world. His concerns over control of his own

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[4] Interview with Supreme Court Justice William O Douglas. A collection of reviews of this release was used in its promotion in the fall of 1957 (57-033).

name and associations were an important impetus behind his work and his opinions. An equally important feature implicit in the above examples was Moe's awareness of world events and the socio-political impact of those events. Moe made great efforts to remain as informed as possible about the peoples of the world, as well as what he felt were the areas that he could contribute to a betterment of circumstance through his name or recordings.

The Catalogs

As mentioned earlier, it is neither within the scope of this work nor my intent to examine the psychological factors that might have influenced Moe Asch. Nonetheless, the materials of the previous section might help the reader become a little more familiar with some of the motivations or opinions that Moe shared with others. In doing so, Moe helped to develop the background to any historical efforts to (re)construct some of his decision-making process.

There is, however, another means of at least getting a sound footing on the question of the kinds of material that Moe was committed to releasing. In the tradition of anthropological inquiry, I have first investigated some of the claims that Moe made regarding his goals in the recording industry. The test, however, is to examine the catalogs to see what Moe *actually* released. This step is important for two reasons. First, there is an astonishing amount of information contained within the catalogs, particularly early ones, concerning both the recordings themselves as well as the background to the releases. This is an area that, to my knowledge, has never been pursued by other Folkways scholars.

Secondly, it does provide a means to more systematically test the claims that Moe has made for himself, and others on his behalf, about the breadth and depth of the materials that he either recorded or acquired. I do not think that there is any serious doubts regarding the truth of the range of material released. However, a systematic sampling of a surprisingly rich set of catalogs ranging from the very first years of Asch Records to the end of the 1960s will not only support this claim, but actually push the limits of the claims currently made.

Examining these catalogs must also take into consideration Moe's considerable awareness of both literary and social worlds. There is little doubt that Moe was entirely aware of many of the trends and transitions that were occurring within the socio-political universe - and was able, in many cases, to anticipate these events. His early introduction of childrens recordings, his awareness of equal rights among all peoples and later the Civil Rights Movement in particular, and his persistent emphasis on the educational importance of all recordings, stands as a testament to his vision. Indeed, the catalogs below give a

good illustration of both the content and the chronology of the material that Moe supported and ultimately released.[5]

It is beyond the scope of this work to examine every detail of each catalog. Therefore, to provide the sampling suggested above, I have opted to use the feature recording profiles that were included in a majority of the catalogs and release sheets. One must remember that Moe averaged approximately one new release a week for better than 30 years of recording. A typical release sheet might encompass anywhere from a handful of new recordings or major features for promotion to complete catalogs of several hundreds of recordings. Therefore, the featured recordings on the release sheets will be used as examples in part to reduce the numbers of recordings discussed, but also following the assumption that the featured recordings were somehow more important to promote. This would suggest that in some sense they would reflect the underlying ideological position of Moe and those that supported the internal operations of Folkways.

The following sections will be split up according to the emphases of the catalogs: Asch Recordings, Asch/Stinson, DISC, the DISC Bulletins, Folkways Records, and an assortment of the releases resulting from some of Moe's more complex licensing arrangements. Comments will be made where appropriate to highlight certain aspects of the information.

Asch Records

The catalogs of Asch Records are really the first examples of what Moe was actually willing to release. Initially, some of the 'releases' had nothing to do with Moe as he was - as his letterhead of the time noted - also a transcription service. Anyone who wanted a certain number of copies of a recording could pay Moe and he would produce it. Apart from this activity, however, Moe did select, record, and release a number of recordings on his own. It is at this point that we can distinguish between Asch Recording and Asch Records.

As highlighted below in Table 8.1, one of the first release sheets for Asch Records highlights recordings #50 - #54, focusing on #50: *The Liberation of Paris* (C-A-01).[6] Additional recordings ranging from #52: *Six Poets of the Resistance* to the somewhat

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[5] There is, of course, a large amount of material that was never released - largely because of financial constraints. This does not diminish its importance. However, it is only released material that would make its way into the catalogs.

[6] All catalogs and release sheets carry a reference number of the format 'C [catalog] - [Letter code related to the particular company: A - Asch, D - Disc, DB - Disc Bulletins, FW - Folkways, RBF - Record Book and Film, SFW - Folkways/Scholastic Records, VFW - Folkways/Verve Records] - [number code]. They are listed in a separate listing at the back of the work.

anomalous #53: *The Private Life of Adam and Eve* (providing for adults an 'easy and interesting way to learn French'). The release sheet states that this particular release is the

first in a series of albums to be released by ASCH Records dedicated to the people of France under the Nazi heel. Some of these records express the most pathetic moments experienced by the French Resistance Movement, others tell of the underground activities of French writers and musicians during enemy occupation.

TABLE 8.1

Select Information from Asch Records Catalogs.

Album Name[7]	Album Number[8]	Record Numbers[9]	Catalog Number
The Liberation of Paris	50	3 - 12"	C-A-01
Roll the Union On (P. Seeger, L. Hayes, D. Reese, H. Wood)	370	301 - Listen, Mr. Bilbo... 302 - Roll the Union On 303 - I'm A-Looking for a Home	C-A-02
The Wayfaring Stranger (B. Ives)	345		C-A-03
James P. Johnson and Orchestra - N.Y. Jazz	551	551-1 - Euphonic Sounds 551-2 - Boogie Dream 551-3 - The Dream (Slow Drag)	C-A-04
Jazz Variations	350	351-1 - (F. Henderson's Connie's Inn Orchestra) 351-2 - (Jess Stay and all His Stars) 351-3 - (Pecks' Bad Boys)	C-A-04 C-A-08
Stuff Smith Trio	353	353-1 - Midway 353-2 - Skip It 353-3 - Don't You Think	C-A-04
Tree Top Tunes and Tails (Nell Zurn)	—	—	C-A-05[10]

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[7] This is the name of the featured record or album in the release sheet/catalog.

[8] 'Album' as used here is the name/number of the entire piece. An album may be made up of several records, each with their own number. If the numbers are not available, the number and type of records will be listed. Especially when 78 rpm records were used, the records would typically only have 1 song per side. In those cases, only the first of the two songs is listed as the 'title' of the record.

[9] If applicable, the number and title of the component recordings of the album are listed.

[10] Other notable mentions in this catalog are Sholem Asch 'In The Beginning' (101); Gdal Saleski 'Suite in Olden Style'; Cantor Leibele Waldman (H6001, H6002); and Maria Sokil 'Eight Ukranian Folk Songs' and arias from Polish opera 'Halka' (P9000).

The catalog notes that Asch's 'In The Beginning' was 'Our first attempt' and 'was immediately received with great acclaim and a clamoring for more...' In addition, above the banner 'ASCH Records Never Grow Old', is stated: 'The keen satisfaction and enjoyment that can be obtained through the Asch technique of recording can be readily seen....Each recording is a vivid masterpiece - well worth a place of honor in the record collections of the most discriminating and critical record enthusiasts'.

Album Name[7]	Album Number[8]	Record Numbers[9]	Catalog Number
Borodin - Excerpts and arias from Russian grand opera recorded in the U.S.S.R.	800	8001 - A and B 8002 - A and B 8003 - A and B 8004 - A and B 8005 - A and B	C-A-07
Yiddish/Jewish Dances, Folk Songs, Cantorials	H Series	H-60xx	C-A-06 C-A-10
Fats Waller Memorial Album	Signature S1-1[11]	28109 - A and B 28110 - A and B 28111 - A and B 28112 - A and B	C-A-11
Blues (J. White, Nora Lee King, Champion Jack Dupree, W. Guthrie & C. Houston, Sonny Terry)	550	—	C-A-13
Folksay	432	4 - 10"	C-A-15

Even a brief examination of these titles shows that Moe was already acutely aware of the importance of diverse releases. Perhaps more importantly, there are examples of virtually all of the main areas that would come to be associated with Folkways: peoples' expressions (blues, jazz, folk, popular), ethnically important recordings (Yiddish material and Russian Grand Opera), childrens music by Nell Zurn, and political recordings (Liberation of Paris). The fact that Moe had established this pattern so early in his recording career in part speaks to his business sense, but more importantly to his commitment to the material and what it means to the people who purchased his recordings.

DISC Company of America.

After the difficulties between Asch Records and Stinson, Moe pursued another avenue to release his recordings. DISC Records represents, to some extent, Moe's realization of the changing consumer base of the 1940s. Still very much along the same pattern of releases that he had established with Asch, DISC begins to show a clear emphasis on jazz. The growing taste for such music, as well as the abundance of artists to record as a result of the 1942 strike by the American Federation of Musicians (see Leiter 1953), provided both a market and an inexpensive source for contemporary jazz music. Although there were ultimately fatal financial difficulties associated with Norman Granz

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[11] This was an Asch Records release of a Signature Records recording.

and the promotion of *Jazz At The Philharmonic* series, Moe continued to release an impressive selection of folk, American and childrens music on DISC.

In addition to jazz, many of Moe's ethnic releases were drawing attention from the media. Bert Metcalf (Reviewer for *Transaudio Press*) is quoted on the catalog (C-D-14):

> The reason for offering comment and special mention...is found in the evident similarities of American folk music and the music of the people of all nations. Possibly the producing company hopes to show, by inference, that the little people of all lands have common aspirations and feelings: that expression is similar. If the idea behind DISC Company's Ethnic Series is interpreted correctly, we applaud heartily and wish them well in their quest of musical means to speed world peace and understanding.

Thus DISC continued to build what Asch Records had begun (Table 8.2).

TABLE 8.2

Select Information from DISC Records Catalogs.

Album Name	Album Number	Record Numbers	Catalog Number
Creole Songs (Adelaide Van Wey)	629	5047 - Compere Lapin 5048 - Chimney Sweep 5049 - Go Way Cat	C-D-03
Jazz At The Philharmonic Series (Norman Granz)	501-505 2005	501 - JATP Vol. 2 (2-12") 502 - Boogie-Woogie at the Philharmonic (2-10") 503 - JATP Vol. 3 (2-12") 504 - JATP Vol. 4 (3-12") 505 - Opera In Vout (2-10") 2005 - Lady Be Good (1-12")	C-D-04 C-D-05
Ballroom Dance records	401 - 406	401 - Standard Foxtrots (4-10") 402 - Modern Foxtrots (4-10") 403 - Waltzes (4-10") 404 - Rumbas (4-10") 405 - Sambas (4-10") 406 - Tangos (4-10")	C-D-06 C-D-08 C-D-11
Songs to Grow On: School Days	604	5070 - Hey, Betty Martin 5071 - Don't We Look Pretty 5072 - Driving Steel	C-D-09
Folk Music of Ethiopia	141	1508 - Men's Song (Shoa) 1509 - Dance Song (Shoa) 1510 - Three Dance Pieces (Tigrai) 1511 - Two Sudanese Festival Songs	C-D-14
American Indian Songs and Dances	161	1515 - Song of Welcome (Winnebago) 1516 - Winnebago Friend's Song 1517 - Winnebago Love Songs 1518 - Opening Song, Zuni Rain Dance 1519 - Buffalo Feast Dance Songs	C-D-14

Album Name	Album Number	Record Numbers	Catalog Number
Folk Music of Haiti	142	1501 - Congo Dance Song 1502 - Voudoun Incantation 1503 - Mais Dance Song 1504 - Quitta Cheche Drums	C-D-14
Cuban Cult Music	131	1512 - Carabali Cult Song 1513 - Lucumi Cult Song 1514 - Congo Cult Drums	C-D-14
Folk Music of the Central East - USSR	132	1505 - Bayaty... 1506 - Kahtahr... 1507 - Song About Stalin	C-D-14
America's Favorite Folk Artists[12]			C-D-12
Favorite American Folk Songs	FF1	3-12"	
Pete Seeger (Pete Seeger)	D-101	1-12"	
Old Timey Music (New Lost City Ramblers)	D-102	1-12"	
Cisco Houston (Cisco Houston)	D-103	1-12"	
Memphis Slim	D-105	1-12"	
Highlife Music	D-107	1-12"	

DISC BULLETINS.

The series of DISC bulletins that were released to promote new recordings are a particularly rich source of variety with respect to both types of material and information to explain the material. In many ways, this was a very important move for a company attempting to establish sales in a phenomenally broad range of recordings. Very often distributors, dealers, and customers alike would have no idea whether a particular recording might be of interest to them. The extensive explanations in the bulletins undoubtedly helped to educate the consuming public. The following list (Table 8.3) outlines which recordings were featured in each bulletin with the album information and each bulletin's reference number.

[12] These titles are from 11 that are listed, but are the only that have photos of the covers. This catalog also has prominently on the front "Drawn from the world famous catalogue of Folkways Records, DISC is now offering, at POPULAR PRICES, the best and most requested Folk, Blues and Jazz music available in the U.S.A. to-day". Though the catalog is un-dated further references to stereo recordings and 33 1/3 rpm records would likely date this to the mid-1950s.

TABLE 8.3

Select Information from DISC Bulletins.

DISC Bulletin Number	Album Number and Name	Catalog Number
1[13]	606 - Funnybone Alley 607 - America's Favorite Songs 760 - Russlan and Ludmilla 52 - L'Honneur Des Poetes 54 - Poems From Charles Peguy	C-DB-01
2	752 - Tschaikovsky (sic) Opera Excerpts 708 - Omer Simeon Trio 614 - Calypso (Lord Invader & Lord Beginner) 610 - Ballads from the Dust Bowl (Woody Guthrie)	C-DB-02
3	753 - Khrennikov (4006, 4007) 706 - Midnight Piano (Cliff Jackson, Don Frye) (6008, 6009, 6010) 658 - Spirituals (Thrasher Wonders, Two Gospel Keys)	C-DB-03
4	55 - Liberation of Paris (French - Pts. 1-8) 611 - Hudson Valley Songs (Frank Waner) (5022, 5023, 5024) 902 - Hebrew and Palestinian Folk Tunes (Palestinian String Quartet) (7001, 7002, 7003) 661 - Women Blues (Josh White) (3004, 3005)	C-DB-04
6	620 - Stella Brooks (Stella Brooks et al.) (5030, 5031, 5032)	C-DB-06
7	754 - Romeo and Juliet Suite No. 2, Op. 64. (Prokofieff)	C-DB-07
8	501 - Jazz At The Philharmonic, Vol. 2 (Lester Young et al.) (2001, 2002) 612 - Mary Lou Williams Piano Solos (Mary Lou Williams (5025, 5026, 5027) 609 - Love Songs by Richard Dyer Bennet (5019, 5020, 5021)	C-DB-08
9	502 - Boogie at the Philharmonic (Meade Lux Lewis) (6020, 6021)	C-DB-09
10	621 - John Kirby and Orchestra (5043, 5041, 5042)	C-DB-10
11	615 - Argentinita (Guitar Solos) (Carlos Montoya) (5016, 5017, 5018)	C-DB-11
12	630 - Square Dances With and Without Calls (Ralph Page the Singing Caller and his New England Orchestra) (5035, 5036, 5037) 631 - Paul Hunt and His Rock Candy Mountaineers (5038, 5039, 5040)	C-DB-12
13	701 - Joe Sullivan Quartet (6003, 6004, 6005) 709 - Drum Solos by Baby Dodds (6006, 6007)	C-DB-13
14	4020 - Overture on Hebrew Themes, Op. 34, Sextette (Sergei Prokofieff)	C-DB-14
15	623 - Walk In The Sun (Earl Robinson - Millard Lampell) (5044, 5045, 5046)	C-DB-15
16	Ballroom Disc Series 401 - Standard Foxtrot (10401, 10402, 10403, 10404) 402 - Modern Foxtrot (10410, 10411, 10412, 10413) 403 - Waltz (10420, 10421, 10422, 10423) 404 - Rumba (10430, 10431, 10432, 10433) 405 - Samba (10440, 10441, 10442, 10443)	C-DB-16
17	770 - J. S. Bach - Three Part Inventions (Erno Balogh) (4050, 4051, 4052)	C-DB-17
18	605 - Songs to Grow On: Nursery Days (Woody Guthrie) 604 - Songs to Grow On: School Days (Charity Bailey)	C-DB-18
20	632 - Pee Wee Russell Jazz Ensemble (5053, 5054, 5055)	C-DB-20

[13] This bulletin also includes a 'press release' - type announcement about the formation of the DISC label.

DISC Bulletin Number	Album Number and Name	Catalog Number
22	2005 - Lady Be Good (Lester Young)	C-DB-22
23	5060 - Lonnie Johnson[14]	C-DB-23
24	505 - Opera In Vout (Slim Gaillard, Bam Brown) (6022, 6023)	C-DB-24
28	731 - Gypsy Songs of Russia (Aida Kuznetzoff/Basil Fomeen Orch.) (6035, 6036, 6037)	C-DB-28
29	725 - American Legends (American Ballad Singers) (6011, 6012, 6013)	C-DB-29
31	725[15] - American Sonata (Elie Siegmeister) (4059, 4060)	C-DB-31
32	675 - John Cage and Alan Hovhaness: Modern Piano Music (Alan Hovhaness and Maro Ajemian) (3057, 3058)	C-DB-32
33	730 - Night Without Sleep (Romolo de Spirito) (6017, 6018, 6019)	C-DB-33
34	755A - Eugene Onegin Vol. 1 (9 Records) 755B - Eugene Onegin Vol. 2 (8 Records)	C-DB-34
36	720 - Songs We Remember (6046, 6047)	C-DB-36
37	721 - Flamenco (Soledad Miralles w/ Carlos Montoya) (6048, 6049, 6050)	C-DB-37
38	726 - Midnight Special - Lead Belly (with Cisco Houston and Woody Guthrie) (6043 6044, 6045)	C-DB-38
42	42 - Calypso (Lord Invader with Felix and his Internationals) (5080, 5081)	C-DB-42

Folkways Records

With respect to archival material - and especially catalogs - there is a distinct lack of documentation concerning Folkways activity between 1948 and the mid-1950s. It is unclear what the reasons for this might be, but with respect to the release of recordings one could speculate that Moe was still keeping up an impressive pace. Over this time, however, the number of recordings being offered in a given catalog were becoming difficult to manage. This is likely the reason that there are comparatively few complete Folkways catalogs. Certainly by the mid-1950s the collection was already being topically divided to more effectively present the material. Indeed, one of the earlier release sheets (undated, but likely in the mid-1950s) notes that the full catalogue is over '700 LP albums'.

What is interesting about the Folkways catalogs during this early period are the efforts taken to manage the increasing numbers of recordings. As mentioned above, the grouping of recordings into topical catalogs became important, as was done with the Ethnic Folkways Library (C-FW-02). This particular catalog[16] also contains a variety of review

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[14] The bulletin notes that Lonnie Johnson 'has signed exclusively with DISC'.

[15] There is some confusion regarding this number. According to the catalogs, 725 is the 'American Legends' album, but there is no listing in any of the DISC catalogs for the American Sonata. Indeed 724 and 726 are already assigned to other albums.

[16] Undated, but likely early. Virtually all of the recordings listed are available as sets of 10" records. They are not on LP yet.

quotes supporting the Ethnic Folkways recordings, a list of the educational institutions that purchase such recordings (important in itself) and, perhaps most intriguing, the inclusion of three filmstrips that are available: FMS 401: *The Sioux and Navajo*; FMS 801A: *Pueblo Indians*; and FMS 802A: *The Maya*.[17]

The organizational efforts continue with a catalog from early 1955 (C-FW-03) listing new releases under '10-inch', '12-inch', and 'Ethnic Folkways Library' categories. The selection of other items that the catalog lists are under 8 categories (in order): Folkways Americana, Ethnic Folkways Library, International, Science, Childrens, Literature, Jazz, and Instruction - again reflection the emphases on the particular genres of material.

One of the most important organizational moves, however, was a systematic change in the numbering of recordings (C-FW-04). The 1957 listing makes changes to 357 recordings with the proviso that any numbers that do not appear remain the same. This listing makes at least an attempt to systematize the numbering system. The end result is a category structure that was maintained throughout the rest of the research period (and by sheer momentum, into the present). The coding structure was outlined to the Federal Trade Commission in 1961 (61-029) (Table 8.4):

TABLE 8.4

Genre Categories of Folkways Records, c. 1961

FA - Americana	FC - Children	FD - Dances	FE - Ethnic
FJ - Jazz	FI - Instruction	FT - Special (Music)	FG - Personality
FH - Historical	FL - Literature	FM - Monograph	FN - Topical
FQ - Instruction (Language)	FR - Religious	FS - Specialty	FSS - Stereo
FW - International	FX - Science		

What is most telling about this particular classification is the almost complete disagreement between the categories listed and the genre categories that exist for any recordings that might possibly be considered 'popular'. This certainly reinforces the 'alternative' or 'fringe' perception of Folkways recordings. Furthermore, it is more than just the organization of a large catalog for sales purposes (though it is that). In the twenty or so years that Moe had been in the recording business he had amassed a collection of recordings whose content was accurately reflected by these categories. This, more than

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[17] The distribution of visual materials, though never a central concern of Moe's, nonetheless has a recurring presence in the distribution activities of Folkways. To see visual materials so early illustrates Moe's commitment to education and the possibilities of other media to achieve his ultimate goals.

anything, points to the continued commitment of Moe to producing recordings of an astonishing breadth.

Second, it points to the future and the kinds of recordings that Moe committed himself to making. Though more categories could be added, the sheer mass of recordings in these areas would undoubtedly continue to exert some force on the direction of Folkways. An important part of this observation is to note that this was the breakdown of Folkways alone. A theme that continues to emerge is Moe's careful attention to the growth of Folkways. In many ways, Moe would not take a risk with Folkways that could be better handled with a different business arrangement. This is largely the case with Record Book and Film (RBF), Broadside, and the second incarnation of DISC in the 1960s. Any of these releases could potentially have been lumped into the Folkways catalog. However, with such ventures, Moe's strategies strongly suggest that he was not interested in risking not only the financial status of Folkways (which was precarious anyway), but Folkways ever-increasing cultural status as a leader in alternative recordings.

* * *

To say that Moe held that producing recordings that were educationally important is something of a defining statement. Moe's entire recording mandate was, to a large extent, built on precisely this principle. But there is a more detailed point to make. Many of the Folkways releases emphasized learning more about the world: Language Instruction (FQ), General Instruction (FI), Historical (FH), and indeed, virtually all of the categories listed in the previous section could be cited. While Moe produced many recordings that would make others scratch their heads and wonder what was the point, even these releases have come to have substantial importance. Sound effects and the sounds of science (FX), in particular, seem to hold their share of oddities. Even as early as 1955, Moe had released the *Sounds of Frequency* (FPX100) and *Sound Patterns* (FPX130) recordings (C-FW-03), as well as the ever-growing 'Sounds of ...' series.

The educational priorities were also the foundation behind the childrens records. As mentioned above, Moe had begun recording albums for children to listen to very early on and continued throughout his lifetime. As Marilyn Averett recalled (MA-1):

> He had a great pride in having childrens records. Because he had this thing, when he told me years ago that it had to do a lot with childrens poverty, also, that people always said children of poverty never learn or minorities couldn't learn, stuff like that, and he just had to prove a point that if they could learn from the music they could learn from anything. And that was his role to play.

By 1957 (C-FW-04) there were nearly 50 childrens' titles listed in categories that included 'Children's Americana', 'Folk Tales for Children', 'Children's International Series', 'Children's Special and Historical', and simply, 'Children's Series'. Such a categorical breakdown is clear evidence that Moe had a very specific idea about the kinds of

children's recordings he wanted to release and the role that he wanted those recordings to play. By the time Folkways was acquired by The Smithsonian Institution, 210 recordings were listed under 'Children's Recordings' and 'Children's Recordings Collections' (with Ella Jenkins contributing 23 titles to this list).

However, many people point to the importance of the political positions that Moe was willing to support. Beginning with his recording of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s, Moe was never shy about releasing politically or socially important material, provided that he felt there was some justification for its release. As mentioned earlier, Moe did have problems with any expressions that were intended to put down others, or that were intended for cause other than social equality and fairness among peoples. Moe's very earliest releases on Asch Records of the Liberation Poets, his many Americana releases by Pete Seeger including the famous *Talking Union* (5285), as well as *Songs of Struggle and Protest, 1930-50* (5233), *Where Have All the Flowers Gone* (31026), and *Wimoweh and Other Songs of Freedom and Protest* (31018) all speak to Moe's commitment to social issues.

Of course there were an enormous number of other contributors to this body of work. The release of material like *Anthology of Negro Poets* (9791, 9792) and *American Negro History* by Langston Hughes (7752) in the early 1950s was an important step in the early foundation of an African-American identity beyond that of 'race' music or simple entertainment. Indeed, Moe produced one of the first recordings that began to set the groundwork for the Civil Rights Movement in 1960: *The Nashville Sit-In* Story (5590) which included the anthem 'We Shall Overcome'.[18] Thus, Moe was well aware of the seriousness of race relations in the United States long before the Civil Rights Movement became a popularized as a national priority.

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[18] Goldsmith (1998) provides a more detailed picture of this time, especially in his chapter 'Recording the Civil Rights Movement'.

CHAPTER 9

FOLKWAYS, ARTICULATION AND GETTING THE JOB DONE

The purpose of this chapter is to examine much more closely the construction and definition of Folkways Records and the relationships that Folkways maintained as an integral part of its survival. Analytically, this is the examination of the Marxian-based perspective (substantivist) and its application to the music industry as a whole (and independents as a part of it). More explicitly, however, this chapter is concerned with the development of the notion of articulation between different economic units or modes of production and the manner in which the forces of capital interact with structural configurations different from those of capital.

The initial discussion will focus on some of the traditional neo-classical notions of what a record company is about and the ways in which Folkways differs from this view. This difference is the basis on which the analytical separation of Folkways from the rest of 'pure capital' and the capital markets is constructed. This is also where the introduction of the Marxian position begins in earnest, further developing the framework for understanding the relationship between Folkways and other structures within capital. The section that follows focuses on the types of relationships that Folkways maintained. The first group of relationships that Moe maintained were within mainstream productive capital - predominately with manufacturers, distributors, dealers, and the artist/creators - that were necessary for him to stay in business. The second set of relationships highlight the role of labour within Folkways. This chapter will close with some comments about the role of Folkways within the larger economic sphere. This will be done by specifically examining the position of Folkways with respect to capital through the use of Bourdieu and Baudrillard and a consideration of the impact of their non-productive frame of reference.

THE RECORDING INDUSTRY

Shore (1983:154) provides what is likely the most succinct capitalist description of the perceptions of the modern recording industry:

> Whatever arguments are made for music as art, the relative autonomy of artistic production, the emergence of music first as popular culture and its transformation into mass culture, music as political and cultural opposition, the paradoxes of musical technology etc., it is essential to keep at the forefront of any analysis the acknowledgment that the music industry like any other industry in a capitalist economy is first and foremost a profit maximizing business. A product is created, manufactured, promoted and marketed to consumers which provides substantial earnings for the successful companies and artists.

For general purposes, this is probably a relatively accurate portrayal of the music industry. However, it is accurate precisely because the creation of recordings has already been defined in terms no different than the creation of commodities in any other capitalist industry. While the consumer professes to want choice to express individual taste and style, it often appears that the music industry (and arguably other industries) sees the consumer as the indiscriminate purchaser of production.[1] As record executive Jerry Wexler pointed out (cited in Shore 1983:156):

> Since we are all capitalist enterprises, we have to capture the lowest possible denominator....What is wrong is the fact that we have to cater to the rancid, infantile, pubescent tastes of the public....Each company must do its best to fill the pulsating needs of mediocrity in order to maximize its potential for success. We might as well be selling hubcaps.

This is most clearly not the case for Folkways Records. It would be difficult to convince anyone at this point that Moe was out to maximize profit or cater to the demands of an infantile public. But if this is an accurate portrayal of the industry as a whole, then we are left to wonder if there is a place for a company like Folkways within the typical characterizations of the music industry. Another reference to Shore is helpful in this regard. Out of the structural variations that exist, Shore (1983:159) offers a distilled list of four business configurations that he suggests characterize the music industry:

1. The independent producer of repertoire with its marketing and promotion function, but with a manufacturing and distribution agreement with a major company. The independent pays a manufacturing price per unit and a distribution commission based on the trade selling price. The independent normally accepts the stock risk in such a contract.

2. The independent producer of repertoire which enters into a licensing agreement with a major company for the major to manufacture, distribute, market, sell, and promote. The major will pay a royalty based on the recommended retail price of the record and will guarantee sales at a particular level. These guarantees are usually translated into royalty advances and paid at the beginning of each year of a three year contract.

3. The fully integrated company which produces repertoire, manufactures, distributes, markets, promotes, and sells its own in-house produced recordings, as well as the repertoire of other companies of types one and two.

4. An independent producer of repertoire which uses a major for manufacturing, does its own marketing and promotion, but uses an independent distributor. This is similar to type one except for distribution. The independent distributor pays the record company more per album than the major distributor, but at a higher risk for the independent record company.

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[1] Obviously, the consumer is highly discriminate in purchasing decisions. However, because such purchasing attitudes are often difficult to establish, consumers are often ignored and consequently simplified.

What is most intriguing about this list of general types is, in part, that there is absolutely no suggestion that the *content* of the recordings might be important to the structuring of the company. In Shore's defense, there may not be much use in making such a distinction, given that the focus of his work is the music industry as a whole, dominated by major multi-national corporations. However, this typology does demonstrate that a recording company employing a structuring principle other than maximization of profit (ideology, for example), will be fundamentally omitted from analytical consideration within the industry. It goes without saying that such companies are typically small and do not garner much economic notice within the industry, but to be analytically omitted is shameful.

Upon some reflection the reader might also have noticed that the details of the Folkways experience relayed in the earlier chapters would place Folkways in all of the above categories at various times in its history. This provides the first element of the answer to 'How did Moe do it?': flexibility. The flexibility in the structure of Folkways, driven by Moe's leadership, allowed Moe to maneuver successfully along the rocky stream of cash-flow. What did not occur was the maximization of long-term profit as a simplified neo-classical approach[2] might suggest.

As suggested earlier, Moe's 'business plan' was one of moving from crisis to crisis while continuing to release recordings. Such financial pressure might well have forced Moe to keep a small staff and a rudimentary administrative structure. However, as fettering as this might have been under some circumstances, Moe's ability to develop different relationships as needed or as the opportunity arose, likely provided Folkways with the agility to remain competitive despite the almost non-existent periods of surplus.

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The consideration of the structure of the industry and of Folkways, both literally and conceptually, is an important one - one which Marx also highlights as an important feature (1960:378):

> Even from the standpoint of this purely formal relation...the *means of production*, the material conditions of labour...do not appear as subsumed to the labourer, but the labourer appears as subsumed to them. He does not make use of them, but they make use of him. And it is this that makes them capital. Capital *employs* labour.
>
> Already in its simple form this relation is an inversion - personification of the thing and materialisation of the person; for what distinguishes this form from all previous forms is that the capitalist does not rule over the labourer through any personal qualities he may have, but only in so far as he is 'capital'... [orig. italics]

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[2] A neo-classical approach can, of course, account for many different objectives based on the goals of the organization. However, the most simplified version still falls to maximizing profits over a given time period.

What Marx is suggesting here is clearly evident in the approach taken by Shore above: the structure of the recording industry is such that the artists' labour is merely the fuel that runs the machine. The capital invested in the industry itself is so enormous in comparison to the worth of the labour of even the most successful artists that even though the industry would not exist without the labour of the artists, the artists nonetheless are subordinated to the demands of industry capital. To some extent, it might even be argued that the artist in many respects has become superfluous to the industry. If an artist fails to conform to the labour structure of the industry, the industry can simply find more 'labour' elsewhere.

In comparison, Moe was adamant about treating artists as people with something to say, demanding that one source of sound be considered as important as any other. This philosophical position, I believe, went a long way to prevent this Marxian inversion of the labour structure that is so clearly demonstrated in the rest of the industry. Moe's efforts to prevent this inversion put him in a particularly powerful position. He was able to recognize individual contributions in artistic terms, and not simply as a contribution to the profit of the company (though he did, of course, consider the financial implications of artistic decisions). Moe was not forced to weigh the worth of the contribution of the artist against the minimum value required to sell a certain quantity of records.

Folkways and Capital

As the title of this section suggests, I do not consider Folkways as 'capital' in its purest sense. It is more accurate to consider Moe and Folkways as occupying a space separate from capital, but with Folkways still closely tied to many of the important enterprises that form the infrastructure of the industry.[3] However, if Folkways is separate from capital in some manner, and if Moe operated according to principles that are not capitalist following contemporary economic definitions, how is Folkways to be characterized? Marx, dealt with the question of such organizations with some vigor and arrived at a some important observations. Most significant of these was Marx's observation that the type of organization that was most similar to Moe with Folkways was

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[3] A point that will be made with more force later. However, it is clear that the common perception of allied but non-capitalist modes of production only existing at the 'periphery' of capital is a dramatically mis-leading image. Moe and Folkways operated in the heart of the industry from its inception - a point that likely worked to Moe's advantage, not his detriment.

something more akin to a peasant-type[4] mode of production than an altered capitalist form (Marx 1960:394-95):

> What then is the position of independent handicraftsmen or peasants who employ no labourers and therefore do not produce as capitalists?...they are *producers of commodities*, and I buy the *commodity* from them....In this capacity they confront me as sellers of commodities, not as sellers of labour, and this relation therefore has nothing to do with the exchange of capital for labour...They therefore belong neither to the category of *productive* nor of *unproductive labourers*, although they are producers of commodities. But their production does not fall under the capitalist mode of production. [original italics]

Thus Marx draws a distinction between someone who owns their own means of production (tools and the like) and makes a commodity to sell, and those who sell their labour to the capitalist for the creation of additional capital or wealth. The former description could easily be applied to Moe, especially with his beginnings with Asch Records. He basically built or bought the tools necessary to make recordings to sell as commodities. This would clearly classify Moe as a 'peasant producer' according to Marx. However, even early on, Moe was not self-contained and relied on outside production facilities to press his recordings, produce sleeves, covers and labels for the records, and of course various types of distribution. In these relationships, Moe could be considered capitalist, trading money for labour in the creation of a product that would be added to Moe's accumulation of capital.[5] Nonetheless, from the point of view of a retailer, Moe simply provided the finished product to sell as a commodity. Interestingly, Marx (1960:395) also accounts for this apparent double-identity of peasant and capitalist:

> It is possible that these producers, working with their own means of production, not only reproduce their labour-power but create surplus-value, while their position enables them to appropriate for themselves their own surplus-labour or a part of it (since a part of it is taken away from them in the form of taxes, etc.). And here we come up against a peculiarity that is characteristic of a society in which one definite mode of production predominates, even though not all productive relations have been subordinated to it.

Marx highlights two critical points above concerning the operation of Folkways. The first is the notion that even in a peasant mode, surplus value can be generated through the utilization of the personal labour-power of the 'peasant' involved - in this case, Moe. As was pointed out in Chapter 7, Moe did in fact use his position as the 'embodiment of labour' to take advantage of those positions that afforded a separate income. If he sold records, he would claim the commission. If he drew a salary as an officer of the company, he would copyright material and receive payment for sales and licensing. On a larger scale, as an officer in at least two companies (Folkways and Pioneer), he would receive

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[4] It must be remembered that the differences between a peasant in the latter nineteenth century and today are considerable. Some analogies will be drawn between the two, but they are meant to be more illustrative than literal or absolute.

[5] The inventory that was held could be considered to be Moe's repository of capital accumulation. If he were to sell everything in his inventory, he would have realized this wealth as income. This, of course, did not happen.

production income from the creation of the recordings, then receive a sales income through both direct sales and as the officer of the company that distributed Folkways as well as other labels. Therefore, even though his economic behaviour might appear to be only capitalist, it is still possible to identify such behaviour as belonging to other types of economic organization.

The second point that Marx highlights is that *not all productive relations are subordinate to capital.* This flies in the face of most contemporary socio-economic analyses that, rooted as they are in capitalism, assume that if a non-capitalist productive mode exists (and some theories do not even allow this), it is well and truly subordinate to capital. In this scenario, it is most common to refer to 'peripheral' articulation with capital; that somehow a different mode would not be able to penetrate within the heart of capital, and would remain peripheral to capital. As a consequence, it is often assumed that the non-capitalist mode is somehow not important to the operation of the larger capitalist systems. It must be pointed out, however, that if one can characterize, as Marx does, independent commodity producers as non-capitalist modes *centrally* articulating with capital, then the strength and independence of capital begins to be drawn into question.

The notion of marginality commonly attached to modes that might articulate with capital are most often expressed in terms of geographic marginality. Very often the non-capitalist mode is seen to be in the frontiers of modern life. This can be seen quite clearly from the physical positioning of the Dene in the relationships with early fur-traders in Northern Canada, for example (Asch 1975). In the Dene case, their subsistence economy was not fully compatible with the physical location of the capitalist 'node' with which they articulated - the fur-trading post. This would then give the false impression of economic marginality that is simply not analogous to their apparent physical marginality.

In many respects, it might be more appropriate to view Folkways as more akin to the modern family farm. In such a modern agricultural enterprise, operating independently is clearly important, while relationships with capitalist organizations enable such independence to be maintained. Furthermore, the distance between the productive enterprise and the various organizations that are needed for continued operation does play a significant role in the viability of the operation. Folkways - an independent producer that relies on capitalist relations - represents a very close association between economic and physical relationships with its position in the geographical heart of capital (Manhattan). More importantly, it is likely that Folkways *could not have survived* in the form that it did without such a close geographical proximity to other capitalist structures with which it articulated. If Moe had been based outside of such an important urban center, it is likely

that many of this relationships would have been compromised and much of the flexibility that he relied on diminished.[6]

One problem that arises out of such an economic relationship is the difficulty in identifying whether such productive relations are something other than capitalist. If, as characterized above, capital somehow sits as an autonomous entity that operates on its own, but that allows for the articulation of *subordinate* productive relations, then the methodological identification of the relations should be relatively easy. However, if they are not subordinate as Marx suggests, then they become much less distinguishable from other fully capitalist relations. This demands a great deal more methodological rigor to separate out these relations and identify them as something other than capitalist. I would even go so far as to suggest that the passage above - a surprisingly clear and unambiguous passage for Marx - has been downplayed in the literature for exactly this reason. Not only does it make considerable intellectual demands, but it also points out that capital is not as impenetrable as some analysts would prefer.

In this particular instance, the question of identifying the non-capitalist productive relations seems relatively easy. As in the case above, in which Moe could be both capitalist and peasant depending on the particular perspective one takes, the 'capital-ness' of a relation clearly needs to be judged according to the perspectives allowed by the relationship itself. Take, for example a relationship like that between Folkways and RCA for record pressing. From RCA's perspective the relationship is simply a contract pressing for another company. Masters are provided by Folkways, the materials are turned into the final product (recordings) with the application of wage labour to be paid for by Folkways. There is no reason that this relationship should not be considered capitalist, particularly since the pressing facilities are owned by a large music corporation that operates according to the rules typical of capitalist relations.

However, from the perspective of Folkways, such a relationship is often fraught with the risks of decisions concerning the number of pressings to be made, how to juggling accounts to meet debt obligations, or what the effect of a particular recording will have on both the production scheduling for other recordings or whether it fulfills an appropriate place in the catalog. More importantly, the relationship is entered into as part of the operation of what has already been described as a peasant mode. Thus the relationship is based on the generation of commodities, not the end sale of Folkways' *labour* for capital, but Folkways' *commodities* for capital. While this does seem quite straight forward, in the

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[6] Many smaller record companies can and do operate in smaller, less populated centers. However, I would suggest that for Folkways specifically, New York City provided many of the rare and unusual contacts with music and sound that Moe could develop as part of the Folkways legacy.

absence of a framework that allows for the consideration of articulation as part of the relations of production of a non-capitalist mode, this type of analysis would simply not work. The end result would be the neglect of a central theme in the consideration of the operation of capital.

An additional argument from Marx that supports the separation of Folkways from capital is the production of what Marx calls 'immaterial production', of which there are two types. One type of immaterial production is that in which 'The production cannot be separated from the act of producing, as is the case with all performing artists...' (Marx 1960:398). The immediate implications of this type are important, but will not be addressed here (see Olmsted 1993 for further discussion of this issue). It is much more important for us to consider the second type of immaterial production (Marx 1960:398):

> It results in *commodities*, use-values, which have a form different from and independent of producers and consumers; these commodities may therefore exist during an interval between production and consumption and may in this interval circulate as *vendible commodities*, such as books, paintings, in a word, all artistic products which are distinct from the artistic performance of the artist performing them. Here capitalist production is applicable only in a very restricted extent...In this sphere for the most part a *transitional form* to *capitalist production* remains in existence, in which the various scientific or artistic producers, handicraftsmen or experts work for the collective trading capital of the book-trade - a relation that has nothing to do with the capitalist mode of production proper and even formally has not yet been brought under its sway. The fact that the exploitation of labour is at its highest precisely in these transitional forms in no way alters the case.

It is clear that although the music industry was unknown to Marx in its present form, the book trade illustrated a variety of similar issues. Producers of artistic products work and are exploited in a fashion no different than factory labourers (staff composers or arrangers, for example). However, the notion that it is *creative* labour is not lost on Marx, as he suggests that there is a durable form of an artistic creation that is somehow *different*. To push Marx's point a little further, the worth of the creative person can in many respects only be uncovered in the process of exploitation of the labour itself. If creative labour is highly valued initially or 'up front' in the capital market and that value fails to be realized through the exchange process, then there is no possibility of surplus-value being generated; indeed, debt is generated.

If, however, the labour is undervalued and the market recognizes within this labour greater value than was supposed initially, then a great deal of surplus is generated. Unfortunately, this is the only manner in which artistic labour can be valued and it is up to a producer like Folkways with the resources to create a commodity for the marketplace to shoulder this risk. Certainly the risk that Moe took with the highly valued jazz music of the 1940s was not realized in the marketplace (though it might have been if an appropriate quantity of product had been available at the right time). Conversely, much of the musics that were recorded on the basis of little initial value came to be highly valued in the

marketplace (Pete Seeger or Woody Guthrie, for example). Interestingly, when Moe could not meet the growing market value of Pete's labour, Pete went to Columbia who was able to meet these initial labour costs.

However, since Moe never took any recordings out of print, he was able to capitalize on this development of labour value. Unlike some products, the price of recordings does not fluctuate with rising value of the labour embodied within it, but the number of recordings sold increases according to demand. Despite the fact that Pete was no longer recording for Moe during this period in the 1960s (though Pete did return to record for Folkways), Moe was able to realize the rising market value for Pete's labour through increased sales of existing recordings (commodities). Thus, despite the tremendous possibility that exists in the recording industry for the exploitation of artists (as Marx suggests was also the case for the nineteenth century book trade), it was still intermediate to a purely capitalist form of production. It was still a case of generating a *commodity* for sale - a book or recording, for example - not generating *labour* for sale.

Folkways and Labour

Ultimately, it does not matter at all what types of relationships Moe or Folkways might have been engaged in if the labour did not exist to be appropriated. In this context, appropriated, or even exploited, might seem overly cynical terms. However, it is exactly these processes that not only allowed the modern recording industry to take hold, but also made a certain type of labour available to Moe for the production of a wide variety of recordings. Marx outlines the de-valuing of labour in a process similar to that of the structuring of capital discussed above (Marx 1960:379):

> The social forms of their own labour or the forms of their social labour are relations that have been formed quite independently of the individual labourers; the labourers, as subsumed under capital, become elements of these social formations - but these social formations do not belong to them. They therefore confront them as *forms* of capital itself, as combinations belonging to capital, as distinct from their individual labour-power, arising from capital and incorporated in it. And this takes on a form that is all the more real the more on the one hand their labour-power itself becomes so modified by these forms that it is powerless as an independent force, that is to say, *outside* this capitalist relationship, and that its independent capacity to produce is destroyed. And on the other hand, with the development of machinery the conditions of labour seem to dominate labour also technologically while at the same time they replace labour, oppress it, and make it superfluous in its independent forms.

The implications of this statement for music are obvious. If the music industry as a whole becomes too formulated and structured in its productive relations, it begins to exert a great deal of force on the labour pool that might be available to supply material to record. This process creates a very narrow definition of 'acceptable' labour; the industry itself has

dictated the criteria[7] for which the appropriate kinds of talent can be judged, largely through the release and promotion of recordings. In light of this, those forms of labour (in this case artistic talent and expression) may very quickly be dismissed as inappropriate or below standard.[8] This creates an enormous conflict, particularly within music and other expressive arts: how does an industry maintain a level of innovation in its product while at the same time discriminating against that which is original, and thus does meet current criteria?[9]

The other possibility suggested at the end of this quote is that artistic labour becomes superfluous in the face of technology. This point can also be taken further given that technological changes often result in a kind of 'obsolescence' - both in what is produced for the marketplace and what is ultimately demanded by consumers. Indeed, Moe encountered this type of discrimination with the development of studio techniques that artificially manipulated recorded sound,[10] which then became the popular taste. Sticking to his philosophy that 'flat' recording best represented the way a performance actually sounded, he was increasingly criticized for not conforming to newer recording techniques.

In either case, the 'niche' labour pools available to record were to a certain extent created by the companies that would not record either specific artists or types of sound that they might not have deemed musical (after all, the music industry is about recording music, not records like *Speech after the Removal of the Larynx* (Folkways 6134)). In this pool, Moe found that much of this labour had been denied value based on the prior construction of the value structures within the recording industry. If keeping initial costs down was important, then this was precisely the right pool from which to draw labour: a pool in which much of the labour had already been defined as worthless by the popular forces of the industry. If the labour did not create a product (or a record) that would sell, then the labour by definition was worthless

As alluded to earlier, Moe had already had a confrontation with jazz that was highly prized during the production of the DISC recordings of the Jazz At The Philharmonic series. The high demand for the labour of these particular performers (Nat King Cole in

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7 This would be a complex array of aesthetic, economic, and perhaps political criteria.

8 Or, in some cases, artists labour may be 're-defined' by the industry against the wishes of the artist involved (see Olmsted 1990, for example).

9 Many authors have suggested that this is precisely the role of the independent producers: find new material, take the risk and if it sells, the major corporations can afford to come in and buy up the product (artist and/or the independent).

10 This can be most easily illustrated by the common use in the recording process of equalization, reverb, and other technical effects to change the sound between the source and the recording itself.

this case) led to the very high valuation of labour cost.[11] For a small producer like DISC, the initial cost to acquire this labour was prohibitive compared to the potential for the value to realize itself in record sales. Consequently, when record sales began to slump and the JATP recordings were not selling, DISC was not able to recoup the initial cost of the performers.

This experience undoubtedly supported the decision to orient Folkways towards a series of specialist niches in areas that are not readily exploitable on a larger scale. This allowed Moe to do something phenomenally important to the success of Folkways - find cheap material. It was not simply a question of finding a performer, composer, or recordist that was 'cheaper' than another or who would sell their labour power at a lower price with a subsequent compromise in quality. Moe was able to find composers and performers whose labour had not yet been valued according to the larger markets, or whose labour was available to Moe in a form that could then be converted, through record production, into a salable form as commodities (recordings).

In many respects, the mandate that Moe put forth was fully in line with the productive demands that he placed on himself. Promoting the notion of a 'sound encyclopedia' and to offer himself as a documentor of the world's music, positioned Moe in a perfect place to connect with un-valued sonic expression. In fact, whether deliberate or not, Moe's mandate put him in a particularly notable position of being able to 'reject' those musics that had already become popular, or valued. From the point of view of labour cost, this allowed him to manage the question of scale very well. However, in terms of artistic expression, Moe stated that:

> I try not to reconstruct anything. When dealing with artists this is often difficult, but I'm more interested in primitive forms than the renditions of polished folk-singers. (quoted in V. Wilmer 1962)

> This is my main criteria. Does a guy actually mean what he says or is it just something he thinks he can make a couple of bucks out of. The guy has to live it and feel it and has to say, 'I'm being brow-beaten by society and I've got to get it out of my guts...I'll go to Asch and see what he says.' That's the kind of thing I look for. (quoted in Kenton nd:15)

More than recording those individuals that were rejected from other recording companies, Moe pursued sound sources that had never been considered to have worth or value. Moe had made arrangements with a number of anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and other researchers to release the music they had recorded. Moe would often pay a token sum as an advance against royalties (usually $50 or $100 - more than $100 was very rare). Better yet, such researchers or collectors often had very good recordings already made and

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[11] It is rumored that Cole wanted (and received) $10 000 for the JATP recording.

they could readily be called upon to write notes to accompany their tapes, if they hadn't done so already, which saved Moe a considerable amount of money.

Pete Seeger recently recounted an exchange with Moe on this issue (PS-1):

> Years later I once asked Moe, 'Is it true you paid a flat 100 dollars for records?' He laughed and said 'That's exactly what I do....some anthropologist comes back from the far end of the world and he calls me up and says 'Mr. Asch, I've got these tapes that I made in wherever it was, and my students want copies but I don't have time to make copies. Would you like to put out a record?' And sound unheard Asch would say 'I'd be delighted. I've heard of your reputation and I'm sure they're good quality. What you have to do is give me two sides, twenty minutes each, and get them all ready for me so they're spliced together in the order they're supposed to be, and put so many seconds in between each one, and I'll then have a master made of it. And you also have to give me five or ten pages of written material and some pictures so people will know what they're listening to, and I'll give you a hundred dollars. And that will be the only money you will ever get. But all I can guarantee you is the record will never go out of print as long as I'm alive, even if it only sells ten copies a year.'

Similarly, Moe would record all kinds of soundscapes and events that one might never imagine would appear on a commercial recording (see recordings by Tony Schwartz for a variety of New York City soundscapes). However, because such events had never been recorded before - and may never be recorded, or even occur, again - Moe could literally dictate what such material was worth to him. If the owner/performer of the material refused to record with Folkways, then in all likelihood the material would never be recorded. In such circumstances, Moe could set forth the terms of such an exchange in a way that was most favorable under the circumstances.

Folkways as Value Converter

On a conceptual level, perhaps the most useful image of Folkways would be as a value converter. For the most part, Moe would take a sound object of very limited or marginal value, turn it into a recording, market and distribute the recording, and sometime later realize greater value for that sound object. This is true for a variety of recordings ranging from the first recordings of Pete Seeger or Woody Guthrie at a time when they might not have been recorded otherwise, to poets, composers, and actors. Moe 'discovered' such American musicians as Clarence Ashley, Hazel Dickens and Doc Watson. These examples, and an enormous variety of others, demonstrate that despite the apparently 'normal' operating practice of Folkways, its position with respect to capital was critical to making such a 'value translation' a success.

A slightly different angle to this particular position of Folkways is that of a 'spatial' translator as well. As mentioned above, much of the material on Folkways came from geographically diverse locations. Folkways provided a repository (and occasionally the

funds) to transfer or transport materials to New York at least for evaluation, if not release.[12] Though referring to a more literal type of transportation of commodities, Marx is still correct in suggesting that (1960:399-400):

> [When a commodity's] spatial existence is altered, ... along with this goes a change in its use-value, since the location of this use-value is changed. Its exchange-value increases in the same measure as this change in use-value requires labour...When the commodity has reached its destination, this change which has taken place in its use-value has vanished, and is now only expressed in its higher exchange-value, in the enhanced price of the commodity. And although in this case the real labour has left no trace behind it in the use-value, it is nevertheless realised in the exchange-value of this material product...

Through this 'spatial change' Moe was able to bring a huge variety of sounds and musics that had never been heard before to the attention of a consumer public. In bringing such recordings to the attention of the record-buying public, Moe also did something that was unusual for the recording industry. Likely done in part as a cost saving measure, and certainly in response to the huge volume of recordings that Folkways would release, any promotion that was done was largely done from a topical, geographic or genre approach. Folkways simply could not afford to promote each recording individually as most larger companies do. This also contributed to the easily identified format of the Folkways catalog, as well as the release sheets for both Asch Records and DISC Records.

However, in the case of Folkways, Moe almost always would promote several recordings of a similar theme at the same time. Perhaps blues in one place, ethnic musics in another, dance music in a third. What was most important, however, was the fact that it was always about Folkways Records. The releases were always featured as Folkways Records. This step, a sound one from the point of view of getting the most promotion bang for the buck, grew into an important force in the 'alternative' markets for recordings. With some exceptions (Pete Seeger and Woody Guthrie being the most notable), the customers of Folkways were interested in the content, not necessarily the performers. Interest in the products that Folkways had to offer was more often expressed in terms of statements like 'Folkways recordings of this type of music' or 'recordings of this instrument or from that region of the world'.

The net result was the development of an identity for Folkways above and apart from any of its specific artists. This is an interesting reversal of the labour-inversion that was discussed above. Where the major companies seem to devalue labour in the face of capital growth, but rely on the recognition of the artists' value in the marketplace for identity, Folkways identified its material based on its own value, but the worth of that material in

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[12] There are even a number of anecdotal accounts of Folkways recordings being found in unlikely parts of the world, themselves introducing new sonic ideas to different locations. This also further elevated Folkways' standing within their niche consumer communities.

many respects was ultimately tied to its association with Folkways Records in the marketplace. Moe did achieve much of the goal he set for himself to create a sound document - a sonic encyclopedia. Much like an encyclopedia, it is easier to promote the whole than any of its parts. Thus people came to perceive Folkways, much as they do today, as the place to start looking for a type of sound if it cannot be found anywhere else.

Re-Conceptualizing Folkways Records

As a conclusion to the analytical section of this work, it is necessary to more broadly revisit the connection between Folkways Records and the concept of the peasantry. From a purely Marxian point of view, I think this point has been adequately argued above. However, there are a couple of other avenues that should be addressed to more firmly situate Folkways outside of capital than has been done.

Whether one accepts the contention in the first section - that Folkways is like the peasantry - is happily up for argument. Rather, the goal here is to outline more specifically some of the implications that arise from moving Folkways outside of the capitalist productive sphere. I have used the peasantry in the modern sense (not the nineteenth century sense) to explore the extent to which a contemporary analogy can be drawn between Marx's description of the peasant mode and a similar productive unit today. However, while the analysis below does focus on the peasantry, there may also be considerable value in disregarding the term 'peasant' with its intellectual and historical baggage. As mentioned earlier, it may be that drawing an analogy with the family farm or some other productive enterprise will prove at least as useful as the analogy made with the peasantry. That possibility will not be pursued here.

The practical utility of the second and third sections that follow may also be debated. However, I would be negligent if I did not at least outline the nature and consequences of the separation between Folkways and capital. This is particularly important given that it is precisely within the area of separation that the relationships that comprise the entire process of articulation are to be found. The level of abstraction in the conceptualization of this 'space' between Folkways and capital is necessary. However, the initial discussion regarding the similarities between Folkways and the peasantry should be helpful in setting the groundwork for later abstraction. This abstraction comes in the form of a brief discussion of practice and ideological separation that can be drawn from the work of Bourdieu (1985, and to a lesser extent, 1977). Then, once ideological separation is established, the implications for both the notion of peripheral markets and the discourse within which Folkways can be situated can be addressed in a manner consistent with Baudrillard's work (1975).

Folkways and the Peasantry

In practice, peasants are fundamentally identified with an economy grounded in a subsistence agriculture base. From this foundation, a variety of social, political and economic factors (usually related to peasant/state relations) force the peasantry into varying levels of interaction with capitalist relations above and beyond those necessary to maintain their subsistence base. A number of groups have illustrated this type of interaction throughout the last century: the peasants of Northeastern Brazil (Soiffer and Howe 1982), the sugar cane cutters of northern Peru in the middle of this century (Scott 1976), and the Aymara of southern Peru (Painter 1986), for example.[13]

What these examples demonstrate is that in most cases there is a clear differentiation between the type of labour or productive relations initially necessary to maintain production and reproduction within the productive system, and those capitalist relations that have intervened in subsistence relations and have subsequently become necessary for the survival of the peasantry. However, the apparent integration of these two sets of relations does not require that they be lumped together during analysis, as they are clearly two separate kinds of relationships. Recognition of the qualitative differences in the parameters of these relations is critical to the identification of the parameters of articulation. Therefore, the separation of these relations is fundamental to the understanding of the nature of articulation in the first place.

At first examination of Folkways, many may not be convinced of the similarity between the case made here for Folkways and the importance of separating the subsistence and capitalist relationships outlined above. However, the similarity is particularly prominent when the nature of the relationships *as they are lived by those engaged in them* is examined. This is an extremely important point as there are two different sets of priorities that motivate the subsistence and capitalist relations, respectively. Subsistence relations are just that: relationships that are grounded in the necessary activities to maintain the viability of the existing population and provide the basis for reproduction of those relationships into the next generation. Capitalist relations, on the other hand, are structured in a manner that requires a very different conception of labour and the definition of that which labour produces (or which labour itself becomes) - a commodity. Furthermore, as we have seen, the separation of capital from labour will force profit and the creation of surplus to the fore as the main factors motivating the wage labour relationships. The additional demands of

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[13] On a more theoretical level, both Cliffe (1977) and Bennholdt-Thomsen (1982) also make significant contributions to this particular issue.

surplus extraction not only direct the extraction of surplus value from the peasants' labour, but also defines wage-labour as a relationship entirely different from that of subsistence labour.

If this differentiation is accepted, then the production of recordings by Moe can be separated into two types: those relationships necessary for subsistence, and those relationships that are necessary to reproduce the cultural mandate of the organization. Obviously, Moe did not rely on agriculture for subsistence and did not organize Folkways (or Asch or DISC) as a subsistence economy. However, Moe did conceptualize the *raison d'être* of Folkways - the creation of a sound encyclopedia - as something entirely different from the profit-driven business practice of the day. Thus, many (if not most) of the important relationships that Moe cultivated were those relationships necessary to maintain the viability of Folkways.

Unfortunately, such an idealistic goal of creating a sound encyclopedia is very difficult to achieve from the point of view of accepted business practice. Therefore, Moe had to enter into a set of different relationships that were necessary to ensure that the 'subsistence' relationships were not compromised. These were the relationships that we would recognize as basic business relationships based on income and cash-flow and the management of commodity pricing and sales. The reader should be quick to recognize that many of the relationships that have been discussed to this point (pressing plants, distribution, sales, licensing arrangements) seem to overlap between the two categories. The separation between 'subsistence' and 'capital' is not clear cut.

In order to separate out some of these relationships, it is important to recognize that the motivation behind constructing the kinds of relationships that Moe did, were not necessarily to generate profit, but rather to emphasize 'subsistence' relationships - relationships that would best serve the purposes of achieving his mandate of a sound encyclopedia. Thus many relationships were necessary to both enterprises - subsistence and income - but the decisions behind those relationships would privilege subsistence. Moe needed to release recordings both to make money to produce more recordings, but also to make the sound documents that he was creating available to the People - those he felt deserved a resource for sound that was not available anywhere else. However, the content of those recordings and the management of the cost relationships were all determined by the 'not-for-profit' mandate of Folkways. As Moe had discovered with DISC, creating recordings for the popular market and thus privileging the demands of capital or profit, was not the best strategy for maintain the viability of a dedicated enterprise like Folkways.

Separation of Perspectives

At its most basic level, the kinds of relationships discussed above are those guided by the eventual goals that Moe had set out for Folkways. It is tempting at this point to introduce a discussion about ideology, especially given the importance of the role ideology plays in both Marx-influenced arguments concerning the organization of productive modes, as well as the abstraction of generalized guiding principles from which we can further distinguish different productive enterprises. However, I will simply suggest here that we be concerned with the acknowledged disagreement that Moe had with capitalist 'ideology'.[14]

There are a number of ways that Moe illustrated his differences in perspective from the prevailing American business practices of the time. It might be possible to begin outlining these differences as early as Moe's childhood and the various attitudes that he acquired, especially in Europe.[15] Goldsmith (1998) does provide a reasoned overview of Moe's upbringing which would certainly support an argument against the 'capitalist indoctrination' that one might imagine Moe would have had under different circumstances. It is perhaps also telling that Asch Records and DISC Records were both much more traditional in their mandates as far as simple business was concerned (perhaps drawn from his experiences with a different kind of commodity production at Radio Laboratories). However, after both these enterprises failed, it may well have been something of a learning experience for Moe, confirming that a separation from traditional capitalist models might provide the flexibility he felt he needed to accomplish such an unusual goal.

There are, however, more compelling examples of Moe's conscious separation of himself from the motivations of capital. Michael Asch's recollection of Moe consistently introducing himself as 'Moe Asch - Folkways Records'[16] suggests that Moe did not necessarily see a distinction between Folkways as an enterprise and his own identity. This is very much consistent with Marx's image of the peasant as the embodiment of both types of relations. In fact, given the dedication that Moe exhibited to Folkways through the four decades of his involvement with it, it is not an understatement to suggest that Folkways and Moe were very much part of the same unit.

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[14] I am using ideology here to represent the 'accepted guiding and organizing ideas of the time'. There is, of course, a range of definitions of ideology from Althusser's structural form (1992) to Eagleton's formulations (1991).

[15] One is reminded of Bourdieu's (1977) discussion of *habitus* and the importance that may have played in Moe's life.

[16] Personal communication with author.

Furthermore, the presence of Pioneer Record Sales in particular may have also provided Moe with additional support in keeping Folkways apart from these capitalist relations. First, the presence of Pioneer provided a very important buffer that in many respects insulated Folkways from some of the risk and uncertainties of pure capital. Pioneer not only provided much of the financial support for Folkways though sales income, loans and resource sharing (as it appears Folkways did the same for Pioneer), it also kept Folkways from needing to become overly interconnected with the kinds of relationships that might ultimately cripple it. The majority of the major distribution relationships and other selling practices were handled through Pioneer, leaving Folkways only indirectly affected by payment problems, legal difficulties, or any number of other risks. This insulation also provided Moe with a way of attenuating much of the risk before it could affect Folkways, thus protecting his original mandate and many of the necessary 'subsistence' relationships.

Moe's role in both Folkways and Pioneer was also highlighted in the sources of his income. It is clear that he was not acting simply as owner/capitalist of either Folkways or Pioneer. In drawing a relatively modest salary, he was as much a labourer as an owner. However, when he drew a salary from sales commissions or was paid a consulting fee to manage the recordings (as he was reputed to have done with Scholastic) he was clearly a labourer being remunerated for a specific task. This type of arrangement also allowed Moe to not violate his 'surplus-extraction' mandate by drawing funds from Folkways or Pioneer in a way that was seen to be beyond simple labour. If there was a job to do, and Moe did it, it was completely reasonable to draw an income. He would have to pay someone else to do the job, so why not himself. However, it never appeared (from the documentation especially) that Moe drew income from Folkways or Pioneer that was not calculated from a labour standpoint. He was selling himself his own labour, rather than drawing surplus away from Folkways as a whole through the exploitation of his own (and others') labour.

Expanding the Non-Capitalist Perspective

If one deems the above argument successful, it raises a particularly awkward analytical problem. If Moe Asch and Folkways are actually not capitalist, would it not be more appropriate to attempt to understand the nature of the enterprise from a perspective (or discourse) that was not developed within capitalism? The answer is a very limited yes. The separation of Moe and Folkways from capital (and its preliminary affiliation with the peasant mode of production) opens a very important space between capital and Folkways as a non-capitalist productive formation. This space is the arena within which this (and

other) modes actually articulate. It is within this space that the relationships between capital and non-capitalist modes are forged and ultimately represent the interests of either side.

Virtually the entire discussion up to this point has rested on the assumption that it is reasonable and correct to view the events taking place within this articulatory space from Marx's critique of capital, though nonetheless using the language of capital. I believe this is, for the time being, the correct approach for reasons that will soon become clear. However, if this space is examined from the other side - using a non-capitalist frame of reference - a very interesting position can be developed, one that may have future implications for the examination of articulating modes in general, but especially those related to cultural or artistic production.

The work of both Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Baudrillard were introduced earlier in this project. It is here, however, that their contributions will be discussed in detail. Both writers have suggested means of theorizing 'the other side', providing at least a starting point at which to begin an investigation of the non-capitalist side of the articulation equation. Interestingly, they also both touch on very similar themes in the founding assumptions of their approaches. Bourdieu provides the first step across from a capitalist view-point to a different place where we can begin to establish the grounds for a non-capitalist analysis of Folkways. Baudrillard then takes the argument further by attacking the very foundations of the Marxian position. While I do not believe that Baudrillard's eventual conclusions are of sufficient strength to be of further use here, the potential implications of his ideas may spur additional work in this area.

Bourdieu's contributions - especially from "The Market of Symbolic Goods" (1985) - are very interesting. It has often been argued that one key to Folkways' success was the exploitation of peripheral markets (to use explicitly capitalist terminology). Overall, I would agree with this assessment. However, rather than simply placing Folkways recordings within a certain market area as yet another commodity, the application of Bourdieu's work highlights the fact that while small, very often these markets are of considerable non-economic importance.[17] If the importance of these markets is measured in terms of the exchange value of the commodities in question, Folkways is left to languish in some pretty inconsequential markets. However, it is Bourdieu's addition of a symbolic component that removes the analysis from pure capital and at the same time adds the necessary power to adequately get at the cultural implications of many products.

A recording industry had existed long before Moe's appearance on the scene in 1940. By that time, a variety of markets with different cultural markers had already been

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[17] The intricacies of some of these markets and the reasons for their existence is explored in *Distinction* (1987).

established ('race' and 'hillbilly' records versus 'swing' records, for example). However, the recording of music as cultural practice moved it out of pure commodity production, and added to it an additional symbolic feature (Bourdieu 1985:16):

> Symbolic goods are a two-faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object: Their specifically cultural value and their commercial value remain relatively independent although the economic sanction may come to reinforce their cultural consecration.

In adding the symbolic component, Bourdieu is able to do two things. First, he can highlight the 'ideological' distinctions concerning the relationships of production that were discussed above. Moe's approach can be better understood within the context of the symbolic/cultural mandate of Folkways as a sound encyclopedia compared to the lower priority of the commercial necessities of commodity production. Secondly, and more importantly, Bourdieu can now start to discuss realms of consumption not as purely economic markets, but as cultural communities. By focusing on the symbolic nature of recordings, a different kind of consumer community can be established - one that is more concerned with the importance of Moe's enterprise and the cultural value of the unusual recordings that he produced, rather than simply the popularity (measured in economic terms) of any particular recording. Bourdieu (1985:17) further distinguishes these culture communities by noting that

> The system of production and circulation of symbolic goods is defined as the system of objective relations among different institutions, functionally defined by their role in the division of labour of production, reproduction and diffusion of symbolic goods. The field of production per se owes its own structure to the opposition between the *field of restricted production* as a system producing cultural goods objectively destined for a public of producers of cultural goods, and the *field of large-scale cultural production*, specifically organized with a view to the production of cultural goods destined for non-producers of cultural goods, 'the public at large'.

I do not believe that Moe would say that he limited himself to producing for a particularly cultured group, as he often stated that his purpose was to make sound accessible for all people. In reality, however, it would take someone of varied interests to seek out Folkways, and ultimately, it was educational institutions that formed a large portion of his consumer community. Indeed, Moe often commented that he believed there was a group of people who understood what he was producing and would buy records to support it. Therefore, it is clear that Moe would not be considered a 'large-scale cultural producer', even though he might have wished for consistent interest by the public at large.

We can now say that it is the symbolic component of recordings that set the foundation for the field of restricted production within which Folkways flourished. More correctly, perhaps, would be to suggest that there were a large number of such fields, as the genre categories within Folkways alone would seem to reflect a wide variety of different cultural communities. This not only accounts for the niches that would concern capital, but now there is a way to construct communities in which Folkways recordings

have considerable cultural influence in the absence of corresponding economic success. It has already been recognized that within many such communities (ethnomusicologists or folk enthusiasts, for example), Folkways persistently generated important recordings that were often unique in their content. In producing such recordings, Folkways continued to gain greater and greater cultural status within these communities.

The symbolic component of the recording would also prove to be of particular interest to Baudrillard. His critique of Marx (1975) provides a couple of very interesting ideas. He begins his critique by suggesting that it is exchange of the symbolic between individuals that forms the basis for all other relationships (Baudrillard 1975:78-9):

> ...'subsistence' and 'economic exchange' are the residue of symbolic exchange, a remainder. Symbolic circulation is primordial. Things of functional use are taken from that sphere (ultimately the substraction [sic] will be null and everything will be symbolically consumed)....For the primitives, eating, drinking, and living are first of all acts that are exchanged: if they are not exchanged, they do not occur.

It is particularly interesting that he identifies subsistence and economic exchange as two different entities, further supporting my contention concerning the separation of these two elements. However, Baudrillard's (1975:80) most significant point is that the realm of symbolic exchange

> ...is the exact opposite of an economy based on unlimited production of goods and on the discontinuous abstraction of contractual exchange. In primitive exchange, production appears nowhere as an end or a means: the meaning occurs elsewhere....On the contrary, in its accumulative finality and its rational autonomy (production is always end and means), [production] is continually negated and volatilized by reciprocal exchange which consumes itself in endless operation.

Baudrillard accomplishes two things by making the symbolic component of exchange primary and moving the product to a subordinate position. First, he works to deny that production (in part, as a result of the discourse built around production) creates finality, and that the end result is the end of the productive process and thus the ultimate embodiment of value.[18] Second, he gives more room to the possibility of better understanding objects as they exist in our consumer universe. More importantly, Baudrillard narrows down much of this argument to focus on products made specifically by artisans using the artisans' relations as the most immediate example of symbolic exchange (1975:98-99):

> The artisan lives his work as a relation of symbolic exchange, abolishing the definition of himself as laborer' and the object as 'product of his labor'. Something in the material that he works is a continuous response to that which he does, escaping all productive finality (which purely and simply transforms materials into use value or exchange value)....The work of art and to a certain extent the artisanal work bear in them the inscription of the loss of the finality of the subject and the object...the play of an ambivalence that the product of labor as such does not bear since it has inscribed in it only the finality of value.

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[18] This point forms a fundamental part of the argument behind his entire book (1975).

The limitation of the exchange of 'artisanal work' to a restricted group of persons who can all be seen as both producers and consumers allows Baudrillard to accomplish two things. First, it permits him to claim some victory over productivist discourse by claiming that production ceases to have primacy in a system where items are constantly consumed and, in the process, redefined with respect to their usefulness. This means that no object in the consumer universe has static social utility. Therefore, there is no 'final instance' in which a product can be viewed as having some type of determinate value.

Second, however, consumption relationships tie Baudrillard's argument very closely to Bourdieu's notion of the field of restricted production. The difference might be that Baudrillard's version could be called the field of restricted consumption. Even though the ideas are developed quite differently, the ultimate effect is roughly the same. Both authors argue that there are small communities of producer/consumers who manage their relationships with certain objects in a manner that operates outside of conditions of pure utility or exchange.

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Baudrillard and Bourdieu manage to accomplish recognition of the cultural component of production in a similar way - by suggesting that the connection between the producer and the consumer is somehow known or transparent. They argue that as producers are consumers and vice versa; there is no finalizing moment that determines the ultimate value of the object. This can occur because there is no separation of the object from the producer as Bourdieu suggests, or from the cycle of consumptive relationships as Baudrillard argues. What is interesting is that Marx (1960) was able to foreshadow much of this type of argument in his discussions of immaterial commodities and vendible commodities.

What is most important about each of these approaches is that they place the artistic producer - and to some extent the artistic product - in a place decidedly outside capitalist production. The fact that Bourdieu and Baudrillard have come to conclusions similar to Marx in the process of rejecting the finality of pure production is not surprising, given that Marx himself places this type of artistic production outside of capitalism. What this analysis does demonstrate, however, is that the production of many (I would not be prepared to say all) artistic products can be located outside of capitalist relations of production. The products then make their entrance into capitalist relations of production as commodities, and the creators of those commodities are then seen as commodity producers, not labour sellers.

Folkways provides a very good example of the kind of argument that has been outlined here. An important element of Folkways' relationship to its consumers was the

fact that Moe always insisted on recording sound as naturally and as transparently as possible. As Moe put it (in Young 1977:3-4):

> Since I am electronically oriented, I am very interested in the loss or what the problems are in the changeover or the conversion of sound to electronic impulses back to sound.....With my records, I think if I am documenting a thing, then I want as good quality as possible, because the person 20 years from that time should be able to reconstruct what I recorded. And in order to do that, the flatter the sound, the better the quality is. Then London Records comes along with their high pitched sound and everybody says my records don't have highs and I'm a lousy engineer, you see, because my records were flat.
>
> ...you can reconstruct by recording flat the quality that you recorded originally, but if you have peaked something you never know how much your peaks have cut it down. When very good equipment will occur in a few years, the flat record will sound like the sound was....One of the horrors of stereo is that you record with two microphones you unbalance the thing; or if you record eight track, you are creating a sound that wasn't there originally.

This philosophy of recording was yet another way that Folkways was able to enter into relationships with its consumers in a way that provided a much more direct connection to the content of a recording. It also provided a criterion upon which something of a 'taste public' was built for Folkways, reflecting the knowledge and appreciation of Folkways' consumers. This further reinforced the formation of cultural communities within which Folkways participated, but also reinforced the broader appeal of Folkways as a complete entity that had somehow managed to stake out a very important and unique position with respect to those who consumed a certain type of recording.

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The purpose in outlining the above argument to include Bourdieu and Baudrillard is two-fold. The first is to demonstrate that there are grounds upon which a different kind of analysis can be built apart from the product itself. Specifically in the case of Folkways, this analysis demonstrates that approaches to music and recordings that emphasize only the economic aspects of the industry[19] leave out a considerable amount of information. Including analytical elements other than those demanded by a simple capitalist approach opens up a much broader range of possible avenues to explore the interrelationships and the construction of meaning within various types of artistic production.

The second point that Bourdieu and Baudrillard demonstrate is that despite efforts ,especially by Baudrillard, to propose analytical tools different from those offered by Marx, they end up in much the same place as Marx. To quickly summarize, Marx suggests that if the producer of a commodity embodies both capital and labour, then the producer is not part of capitalist production (which demands such a separation of entities). In his description of the fetishism of the commodity, Marx notes that it is the market - and

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[19] Not only would I include Shore (1983) in this category, but also books directed at teaching novices about the practices of the industry. See Shemel and Krasilovsky (1990) or Passman (1997), for example.

specifically market exchange in the absence of the producers of the commodities - that 'mystifies' (fetishizes) the commodity and the construction of its value.

This is essentially the conclusion that Baudrillard comes to when he suggests that it is through consumption that meaning can be remade at each transaction, with every relationship forming only a link in a continuous consumptive chain. This chain, somewhat analogous in function to Bourdieu's field of restricted exchange, is all in aid of preventing the fetishization and essentialization of an object as a commodity within the market. However, Marx has, to some extent, beaten them to this conclusion by noting that if exchange operates outside of pure market exchange and the object is not fetishized through this exchange, then much the same analytical result can be achieved.

In all three systems, the same conclusions are reached: a) that a producer is creating objects outside of capital; b) that those products may become commodities within the capitalist market, but it is the object alone that is commodified, not the productive relations that exist separate from the capitalist market; and c) like Folkways and peasants or farmers and the like, there are elements of this external productive enterprise that are articulated with capital and there are other elements that are not.

Thus, all three authors support the proposition put forward in this work: that Folkways represents an identifiable constellation of productive relations that occupies a space separable from pure capital. The implications of this conclusion are clear. First, contrary to some versions of Marxist theorizing, the capitalist mode of production is not a pure form with no other interaction with non-capitalist modes. Second, non-capitalist modes - in whatever form they are characterized - are necessary to the functioning of capital by providing either labour (as in the conversion process described above) or commodities (in the case of Folkways recordings that can be sold in the marketplace).

Third, because these productive entities articulate with capital through some identifiable set of relationships, it cannot be assumed that they are inseparable from capital, nor can they simply be regarded as fully part of the capitalist mode of production. As has been demonstrated above, to lump these other forms with capitalism is to hide important non-economic elements from analytical view. Researchers and analysts are then left to gloss over these producers, ignorant of the variety of non-economic elements that might motivate production.

Finally, this analysis dispels the myth that all articulating modes of production are to be considered peripheral (either spatially or economically) to capital. This myth is supported by much of the literature concerning capitalist penetration in parts of the developing world - areas that are geographically remote from the center of the Western industrial world. However, this bias has left many to suppose that articulation only occurs

at the furthest reaches of capitalist markets. Folkways in particular demonstrates that in certain instances, alternative productive formations operate at the core of industrial capital.

More importantly, certain organizations like Folkways can *only* operate within the core of capital. Were it not for the range of technical, artistic and economic resources available to Folkways in New York City, I do not believe there would have been a sufficiently broad range of relationships available with which Folkways could articulate. It is, therefore, this concentration of capital resources that provides an environment suitable for the articulation of certain types of productive organizations.

I would further suggest that this is precisely why there is such a high concentration of artistic organizations (record companies, theaters, support organizations and the like) within larger, economically concentrated centers. Smaller centers are simply not able to keep a large number of these types of organizations viable, thus increasing demands for external funding (governments or patrons, for example). As one reaches the periphery of capital, all that is left is to import either labour or the completed commodity itself into capital, as there are not the resources available to maintain a cohesive productive enterprise as an external, but articulating productive formation.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS

Many of the lesser points discussed in this work have already been highlighted within the text and will not be reviewed here. However, there are a number of issues that need to be considered in more detail, particularly as they impact the broad sweep of two decades (and more) of the operation of Folkways Records.

This final chapter is divided into five sections, each dealing with a different facet of this project. The first section is a very brief, but important, comment on the connection between Moe Asch and Folkways Records and what it might mean for this project. The second section concerns the timing of the Folkways enterprise. There were a number of important technological and social changes that worked very much in Moe's favor that should be properly accounted for.

In the third section, the importance of flexibility and its impact on Folkways is discussed. Moe's flexibility and ability to respond and adapt quickly is a central feature in the creation of the Folkways sound encyclopedia. The fourth section discusses the importance of the Folkways catalog in broader terms. The maintenance of such an enormous catalog was often a point of criticism against Moe. However, in many respects, its size was precisely what kept it alive. Finally, as the central thesis of this work, the concept of articulation is revisited in the fifth section. The use of the concept of articulation is considered along with the prospect of re-defining some of the fundamental assumptions of the concept to make it more analytically productive in examining recording companies like Folkways. I would propose that a *neo-articulation* model be used as a means of furthering our understanding of musical and artistic production within a capitalist system.

MOE WAS FOLKWAYS

Though the title of this section may appear trite, it is something of an inescapable fact that the identity of Folkways Records was absolutely and irrevocably tied to the identity of Moe Asch. Even now, nearly fifteen years after his death, Folkways is still intimately associated with Moe. Though I have, to the best extent possible, attempted to isolate Folkways from Moe Asch, it is here that I must confess that it may not be possible (or even accurate) to attempt to do so.

Nonetheless, the business of Folkways is by all accounts the public persona of Moe Asch. Even Goldsmith (1998) ends up conflating much of Moe's life with that of Folkways, leaving one to continue to wonder about the private individual. In the case of

this work, however, the details of Moe's private life make little difference. What can be said, and must be recognized, is that the manner in which Folkways (with other concerns, like Pioneer) articulated with larger capital structures was due to the perseverance and tenacity of Moe Asch. Under different leadership, it would be hard to imagine Folkways maintaining its original mandate of sound collection, or even establishing such a mandate in the first place. We must acknowledge the fortitude of Moe Asch in maintaining such a principled stance against the relentless pressures exerted by capital to generate profit.

Timing

Timing must also be considered as a major factor in the success of Folkways. Moe came onto the electronics scene in the 1930s when there were a significant opportunities in the marketplace for electronic expertise. The formation of Asch Records in 1940 allowed Moe to begin to benefit not only from the dearth of ethnic (particularly Jewish) recordings, but also from the considerable consumer income that was still available prior to the United States' entry into World War II in 1941. Even with the imposition of shellac rations during this period, Moe was still able to connect with Harris and Prosky (Stinson Trading) to continue to produce much of the material that Moe recorded.

The relationship with Stinson did eventually become a very sour one. However, it is doubtful that Moe could have continued recording without the arrangement. Moe then managed to maintain some of his momentum in the recording business by starting DISC Records in late 1945/early 1946. Not only did DISC allow Moe to move away from the entanglement of the Asch/Stinson difficulties, but it also gave him a new banner under which to expand his ideas about the kinds of music that he wanted to release. Asch Records, to some extent, had come to be associated with ethnic and some classical recordings. DISC Records allowed Moe to explore much of the jazz material that was available in New York during the American Federation of Musicians strike. Furthermore, it gave Moe an opportunity to showcase jazz as part of Americana - as a genre that was worthy of exploration.

Moe ran into difficulties once again, this time through his association with Norman Granz and the *Jazz At The Philharmonic* series of records. One is left with the question of whether Moe went against his better judgment when he took on the extraordinary costs of producing these recordings. In any event, the sales necessary to maintain financial footing did not materialize, leaving Moe facing bankruptcy only two years later. Though this too could be considered bad luck for Moe, it provided Moe with two important opportunities. The first was a chance to once again re-formulate his vision of what he wanted to accomplish with his recordings. Though his fateful meeting with Albert Einstein is often

cited as the seminal moment for the formation of the 'sound encyclopedia' concept that he developed throughout his life, I believe the failures of Asch and DISC played an important part in giving Moe the experience and the perspective necessary to pursue his ultimate goal.

The second bit of good fortune that came along was the chance to form Folkways (with the help of Marian Distler - Moe was prohibited from ownership because of the DISC bankruptcy proceedings). However, what really propelled Folkways forward very early was the fact that Moe had already amassed a considerable number of titles that could be released on the new label. This gave Moe and Folkways an important advantage during the creation phase of Folkways. The 'recycling' of many titles allowed Moe (and Marian as the *prima facie* owner) to cut costs substantially during the first months of Folkways. In some respects, Moe was able to present Folkways as a virtually fully-formed concept with a range of titles that immediately reflected his vision.

The broader world of technology was also on Moe's side during the first two decades of Folkways. There is no question that Moe's considerable expertise in electronics from both the technical and retail operations of Radio Laboratories helped immensely in the day-to-day running of a small studio. Moe was able to build, maintain, and manage his equipment in a very efficient and economical fashion.[1] However, there were external changes that came to work in Folkways' favor. The shift to the 33 1/3 Long Playing record format - introduced by Columbia only months after the formation of Folkways in 1948[2] - proved to be a huge advantage for Folkways.

Both Asch and DISC had only 78 rpm records available on which to release records, which allowed only perhaps 4 1/2 minutes of recording time per side on the 12-inch discs. As the catalog descriptions in Chapter 8 demonstrate, this forced the inclusion of several records into an album in order to present complete pieces of music. With the introduction of the 33 1/3 format, Folkways was able to include as much as 20 minutes of sound per side. This meant that a single LP could often produce the same amount of sound as four or five 78 rpm records. This new format permitted Moe much more freedom to explore a much wider range of sonic expression because it did not need to be cut up into 3 or 4 minute parts.

Perhaps best of all, it was a technological change whose associated costs had to be born by the pressing plants and other producers, not Moe. Moe certainly had to make

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[1] This is a further example of the Moe's embodiment of both capital and labor, and the importance that this combination played in the supporting of the Folkways enterprise. It allowed Moe to accomplish his goals in a way that was not overtly directed by structures or conditions external to Moe and Folkways. He could just do it his way.

[2] See Schicke (1974) for an extensive discussion of the 'battle of the speeds'.

some concessions with respect to the formatting of material that he sent for pressing, deciding how releases would be ordered on the LP, and organizing the presentation of the ubiquitous liner notes. However, once the risk of using the new format was acceptable and the choice was made to release on LP, all of the other technological costs were born by others. This gave Moe further advantage not only in exploiting the new technology, but in developing the relationships necessary that would permit him to produce the kinds of recordings that he wanted without becoming tied to the capital costs involved in the implementation of the new technology. Thus the articulatory relationships that Moe was developing would allow him to make use of capital-intensive technologies without becoming a slave to the surplus generation necessary to maintain such technologies.

After the introduction of the LP at about the same time as the formation of Folkways, there were very few technological changes that Moe had to deal with through the two decades discussed here. The 45 rpm record, introduced within a year of the LP by RCA, failed to challenge the convenience and capacity of the 33 1/3 LP. However, it did find a home in the jukeboxes that were increasingly popular at the time. The reasons Moe paid little attention to the 45 rpm are pretty obvious. Little of the material that Moe released would lend itself to single-song play on jukeboxes or within the singles market that grew in the 1950s and 1960s. While very few Folkways recordings are known to have been released on 45, it is clear that the 45 rpm record did not represent a meaningful advance for Moe and was largely ignored.[3]

The introduction of stereo recording, on the other hand, proved to be a slightly more problematic issue for Moe. Though the idea was first developed in the 1930s, the first viable stereo recording and playback systems were not introduced until the mid-1950s, with tape introduced in 1959 (Schicke 1974). Moe's distaste for the whole concept of stereo, particularly as it represented an alteration of the original sound document, was barely disguised. Though Moe did concede to some pressure with the release of a variety of Folkways titles in stereo, they were often titles that were simply re-releases of existing monaural recordings. Interestingly, as noted in the genre breakdown in Chapter 8, Moe eventually regarded stereo recordings not as the ultimate goal of all recordings, but simply as another variety of sound document and assigned it its own prefix: 'FSS'. It was an innovation to be taken seriously, but only insofar as it was part of the sound encyclopedia.

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[3] Some 45 rpm records have been found for Folkways artists. However, details are not clear enough at this time to report here.

FLEXIBILITY

Probably the single key to the success of Folkways from a production and reproduction standpoint has been its flexibility. From the very beginning, Moe managed Folkways in such a way as to prevent the economic burdening of the productive unit. Moe was continually trying to keep necessary costs low, such as salaries (especially his own), rent, office expenses, and travel expenses, while at the same time attaching as many costs as possible to completed sales. In this way, he was left with minimal expenses in the absence of sales. When sales did occur, other costs would come into play - shipping and commissions, for example - while at the same time, Moe could measure how many recordings he could put into production based on the increased cash flow.

Beyond his management of Folkways itself, Moe also kept a great deal of flexibility in the external relations that had to be managed. With respect to sales and distribution, Moe was often very quick to chastise or change distributors for not representing Folkways in a manner that was acceptable to him. In fact, probably the best sales decision that Moe made was the employment of Larry Sockell. By all indications, much of the success of regional and national sales outside of convention and educational institutions (which were largely Moe's territories) can be attributed to the understanding that Larry held for Folkways. As Larry recalled (LS-1):

> Moe once asked me, 'How do you like the stuff I'm putting out?' I said 'Look, I don't have to like it. All I have to do is be able to sell it.' And he was satisfied with my explanation. So I will never tell you what to put out, or how to put it out, but I will just get you customers for your type of product.

Moe's relationship with Larry was one that was exactly of the sort that Moe and Folkways needed. Moe could rely on a personal relationship with Larry, while trusting Larry to manage his sales affairs effectively. Moe did pay Larry a significant amount of money in commissions over the years, but these commissions were based on sales. More importantly, Moe was also paying for the relationships that Larry was able to establish and manage with the customers. Thus, in many respects, the kind of interpersonal relationship that Moe had with Larry was another essential step in maintaining the degree of flexibility that a larger, more hierarchical or bureaucratic distribution arrangement would not have allowed.

Larry related another incident that perfectly illustrates the importance of the personal relationship (LS-1):

> I remember him making a cash deal to one of my customers and I caught him. I said, 'Moe, that's my customer. Any deal you make with him, I have to get my commission.' He'd say, 'You're absolutely right' and take out hundred-dollar bills and pay me off. Yeah, he would pull that. And he said, 'Now, this ends the discussion - I don't want to know.' Because I caught him in a lie. He didn't like it, but I didn't pursue it thereafter.

Larry's tolerance to such events certainly helped Moe immensely. Cash deals were critical for Moe, especially when money was tighter than usual. Larry's management of these deals not only worked out for Larry (he was paid for the deal), but it gave Moe the room to maneuver financially when it was necessary.

Another area that I think has been largely misunderstood with respect to the creation of Folkways recordings has been the issue of pressing. Much has been made over the fact that Moe was in some respect, consistently being punished financially for only pressing the absolute minimum amounts of numerous titles. In fact, such minimum pressings were absolutely critical to Folkways' success in a number of ways. The first, and most obvious, benefit was that Moe tended to press only as many records as he needed to - either to meet the minimum of the pressing plant, or the minimum that he would need to sell to break even - usually no more than 300 to 500 copies. The premium that Moe paid to get so few pressings of a title has often been regarded as a foolish waste of money on Moe's part. However, if Moe had pressed, for example, 1000 or 5000 copies of a title in order to save a few cents per copy on the pressing, he would be faced with other astronomical expenses.

First, he was required to pay excise taxes on any recordings that he *manufactured*, not on the quantities that he sold. For an organization like Folkways to unnecessarily commit itself to such an enormous up-front expense would have been disastrous. The second issue that arises from this pressing strategy was storage. For most recording companies, the expected turnover of thousands of copies of a relatively few titles would justify the cost of necessary storage through the increase in cash flow and ultimately profit. However, Folkways was in the opposite position. With several hundreds of titles (culminating in nearly 2200 in 1986), even 200 or 300 copies of each title would represent considerable storage pressures. In addition, the booklets for all of the records also had to be stored prior to being packaged with the record. Finally, the possibility existed that there was a reasonable chance a large percentage of any title pressed might take years to sell out, if ever. All of these factors combine to make the ultimate cost of cheap production prohibitive in the long run. Keeping production numbers low simply makes much more long-term economic sense.

There is a related point that should also be addressed. There is a commonly held belief that many of Moe's pressings were done out of the goodness and generosity of the printers and pressers involved. Undoubtedly at slow times of the year, or when credit was needed to get some pressings done, Moe would rely on such favors. However, it is misleading to suggest, as Goldsmith (1998:387) does, that "his production process was only made possible by businessmen who had a soft spot for Asch and his quixotic

enterprise. Who else would have been permitted such minuscule production runs and repressings?"

To imagine that Moe only pressed 50 or 100 copies of recordings at a time is to miss the point. He had several hundred titles to press. At the end of the 1960s when Goldsmith made the above reference, Folkways was likely nearing 1700 or 1800 titles in its catalog. Though exact figures are not available, the financial data described in Chapter 7 would place production into the region of 125,000 to 200,000 copies a year. This is supported by the correspondence with his pressing company assuring Moe of the capacity for 3500 to 4500 copies a week (perhaps 180 000 to 230 000 copies a year).

These numbers are not inconsequential for a company that had already been in business for 20 years and had contracts with smaller custom printing and pressing companies. While there very well might have been goodwill for Moe's 'quixotic enterprise', I would suggest that in regard to production, much of the goodwill was related to Folkways and Moe being a long-standing customer with fairly substantial orders. Particularly if Moe was using companies with smaller production ranges, these numbers would form a considerable part of the production process. I believe it is a largely a myth that it was simple charity on anyone's part to support Moe. More accurately, many smaller businesses needed Moe as much as he needed them, and several smaller pressers and printers would likely be willing to extend some flexibility in part based on the history of Folkways, but also to keep a consistent account.

The Catalog

It is perhaps appropriate here to return to a more specific consideration of the catalog. The ultimate size of the catalog suggests that Moe did, in fact, come closer than anyone could have imagined to achieving his goal of a sound encyclopedia. It is quite a remarkable achievement given that virtually every business person who has expressed an opinion about Folkways, has felt the catalog was the albatross that hung around Folkways' neck. Even Sam Gesser and Larry Sockell, who worked with and respected Folkways, felt this way (SG-1, LS-1). Certainly from a business management standpoint and even a cursory examination of Folkways, they were largely correct in their opinions. However, as I have tried to demonstrate in this work, Moe did not run a typical business in a typical fashion, nor were Folkways' goals similar to other recording companies.

Perhaps the most important point in understanding Folkways is to realize that the recordings that Moe released had very long sales cycles. Whether explicitly or not, I believe Moe recognized this. The material that was released would take a very long time to sell enough copies to break even. The only solution was to make sure they were available

long enough ('forever') to begin to support their own production costs. Although this is not typically a 'smart' business decision, the ideological mandate of the sound encyclopedia and the way it supported such long sales cycles justified the stance of never deleting a title from the catalog.

Some readers might be tempted to take the view that Moe fabricated the mandate of Folkways as a justification for his business practices. It is, however, most likely a coincidental convergence of the reverse. Moe created the Folkways collection from material that he felt should always be available to the People. Coincidentally, this material also had a very small consumer market and needed additional time in order to meet the necessary sales levels. In this way, the logic and implementation of the sound encyclopedia happened to fit the organizational structure that was essential to Folkways' survival. Moe's ideological position also gave him a foundation of moral strength from which to argue against those who wanted Moe to cull his catalog down to a manageable size.

Ironically, maintaining such an enormous catalog allowed Moe to achieve a couple of other important objectives. The first was that he was able to keep recordings available until they broke even, despite the possibility of requiring years of single-digit sales to do so. This was extremely significant for both the material and for Folkways. Though it would be difficult to demonstrate with the available data, I would argue that a much higher percentage of Folkways recordings have broken even than the industry average of about 10%. The combination of low production costs that are easily recouped and the long-term availability of the product clearly gave Folkways an advantage. Moe did not sell a lot of records (typically only a few hundred copies or less), but then he did not need to in order to break even .

Furthermore, maintaining such a catalog of older material also allowed Moe to capitalize on the waxing and waning of musical trends. For example, as interest grew in the latter part of the 1960s Folk Revival, Moe's extensive collection of titles by Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, New Lost City Ramblers and many others were available and continued to sell. Even though some of Pete Seeger's recordings were nearing 20 years old by this time, there was still continued interest and sales of his material. The issue of availability thus cast itself not just in ideological tones, but also as a solid business decision in order to maximize income (and potentially profit) from products with a long sales life.[4]

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[4] It must be said that the study of popular records would not necessarily lead to this conclusion. With such a high sales peak in such a short time, the percentage of income gained outside of a very short window of opportunity is very small in comparison to that of a Folkways recording, for example.

As Moe put it, "That's the whole trick - if I last long enough, and the album is always in print, in the final analysis I'll sell as many as a commercial company will" (MA-1) .

Moe was also very sensitive to the risks that were inherent in the industry as a whole, as well as those that impacted directly on Folkways. In a discussion concerning the hypothetical impact of a hit record on Folkways in 1973, Moe makes a couple of telling observations. First, Moe points out that if he had a 'hit' record (MA-1):

> It would be the end of Folkways. It would be better for me to license a best seller to a company that can merchandise and can fulfill than it is for me, because once you start in that kind of a set-up, you have to have the personnel. To be a million-seller you need promotion men, you need warehouse men, you need a factory of your own, you need everything in a million, people to handle a million, so if you don't have it for the next issue, a million, all these people and all that investment is lost. Meanwhile, unless you can rent the warehouse, and rent people just for that one issue, that one million, you see? If we have six people that operates now - 1500 albums, so much dollars per year - the minute I have a million I'd have to have ten people, automated billing, automated warehousing, IBM'd and all that you can't sign for the length of a record, you have to sign for a lengthier period.

The importance of managing the size of the operation, keeping it small and flexible was clearly the key. If Moe allowed Folkways' infrastructure to grow large enough to handle such high sales figures, then he would be forced to record, produce and distribute records that sold larger numbers in order to support the organization. This is obviously a very dangerous strategy and one that can very quickly backfire, as he learned with DISC. Moe suggested that there was another way to handle such events (MA-1):

> If it is one of those type of records, and I had orders for a million, I would be able to fulfill that. But I wouldn't be able to fulfill it like a big record company, immediately a million copies to go out to the field, because I would have to maintain the rest of the catalog for the people that need it and buy my records regularly, since I know that eventually I won't have this million and I would lose all my customers and all integrity that I built into the company. So I would go to another factory, not the one that supplies me, and I'd make a contract, a deal with them, in which the million copies would be...in other words, I would create another organization in my organization to handle the million copies so that we as Folkways are not touched by that. But its a very dangerous thing because you can make a million copies and the next day you're out of business, all these years or not.

Here Moe most clearly expresses the kind of strategy outlined throughout this work: Moe was always trying to protect Folkways from risk. More specifically, Moe was protecting Folkways from capital risk - risk that grew from capital structures built to extract surplus from product sales in the most efficient way possible. Throughout the life of Folkways, Moe's strategy was not to focus on maximizing profit, but rather to make enough profit to allow him enough to continue producing records. In this respect, Moe's decisions were based in a solidly grounded personal view that rejected pure profit in favor of his mission that he directed through Folkways.

ARTICULATION

I believe that articulation has proven to be a very powerful concept in understanding the operation of Folkways. It has helped to highlight a variety of factors that form the basis for what has made Folkways such an important cultural force: the range and diversity of musics and soundscapes released on records, Moe's flexibility in managing the resources necessary to produce those recordings, the personal perseverance of Moe Asch as a determining factor in the success of Folkways, and the importance of non-traditional organization that allowed for innovative problem solving. The net result is a better understanding of both the role and the importance of Folkways within national and global cultural contexts.

There are, however, a couple of important points that need to be addressed. The first is the degree to which Folkways can be regarded as a 'mode of production' for the purposes of understanding articulation. Recalling Laclau's four-point outline of mode of production from Chapter 2, we can see that characteristics of Folkways come very close to fulfilling Laclau's requirements:

1. *A determinate type of ownership of the means of production:*

   There is little question that Moe's ownership of Folkways could be characterized as peasant-like or farmer-like. As an organization with organizational and operational independence, Folkways nonetheless requires relationships with capitalist markets to maintain its independence. Like a family farm, intra-organizational autonomy is essential to managing these capital relationships. However, more important than naming this type of organization, is the possibility of utilizing a similar type of characterization for the analysis of all kinds of artistically-based productive units.

2. *A determinate form of appropriation of the economic surplus.*

   For Folkways, the form of surplus appropriation was basically that of capital. This is no surprise given that Moe was producing commodities for the market and the only way surplus could be extracted was through economic means. Although, more interestingly, his internal relationship with employees seemed to go much further than simply economic extraction of labour surplus. Pete Seeger has referred to Folkways as a 'feudal patriarchy' (PS-1). This may, in fact, be a more accurate description of the kind of relationships that drove production within Folkways as a unit.

3. *A determinate degree of development of the division of labour.*

   Perhaps the most important point about the division of labour at Folkways was that there appeared to be very little. Moe, at various points in his career, had done

virtually all of the jobs that needed to be done within Folkways. This reinforces the flexibility that Moe's labour provided within Folkways. However, when he did need assistance, he often appeared to be more concerned with the degree of need that someone exh. ted for a job than the skills to do the job itself. Thus Moe also placed great emphasis on interpersonal factors when negotiating relationships between Folkways and other external units or individuals. In both circumstances, Moe stressed the importance of extra-economic factors to make labour decisions within the economic sphere.

4. *A determinate level of development of the productive forces.*[5]

As the means of production are concerned, Moe's application of his own labour to build much of the equipment and his eventual ownership of the means of production conforms to 1) above. The organization of production within Folkways is also atypical of the music industry as a whole. Moe's embodiment of A&R man[6], producer, engineer, owner *et al.* highlights the importance of Moe as a focal point in channeling forces of production within Folkways. In this way, the organization of Folkways is more typical of small-scale commodity producers generally and thus needs to be given some credence as a legitimate labour configuration.

Therefore, we can argue quite strongly that Folkways is, in fact, an identifiable mode of production in its own right. However, we are left with the challenge of understanding the parameters of the articulation of Folkways with the core capitalist structures within the music industry. The difficulty lies in determining the extent to which an organisation, even one as distinct as Folkways, can interrelate with so many other organizations that *are* clearly capitalist, and still remain separate from such organizations.

Part of the difficulty lies in the currently accepted literature concerning articulation of non-capitalist modes and the spatial (geographical) separation that often accompanies such interactions. If we talk about the Mbuti Pygmies (Cashdan 1989) or the Dene (Asch 1975), or even non-centralized recording concerns (Wallis and Malm 1984), it is very easy to conceptualize a separation between the productive unit and capital because there is often a literal, physical separation. While research in these areas has been very important in understanding the interactions of various socioeconomic factors, it has left something of an

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[5] I am taking Friedman's (1974:445) distinction of the forces of production being comprised of means of production and organisation of production. If Laclau has suggested something different, it is not known.

[6] Artist and Repertoire.

analytical artifact - an image or metaphor of peripheralization and distance from the core structures of Western capital.

However, with this work, we are faced with the difficulty of justifying analytical separation in the absence of a physical separation between productive units. Furthermore, this separation must be allowed, even with Folkways operating in the core of capital - a place where there is not supposed to be any of 'peripheral' formations. My contention throughout this work has been that the use of only capitalist or formalist models to understand artistic producers such as Folkways merely obscures and ignores the very creative factors that make them important commodity producers for capital. However, it is not sufficient to argue for an articulation model based spatial considerations, or even on subsistence patterning in the literal sense (as much of the articulation literature has: Bennholdt-Thomsen 1982, or Soiffer & Howe 1982 provide good examples). As I have demonstrated, the analysis of Folkways challenges the efficacy of both a model built from physical locations, as well as a model predicated on conservatively defined types of subsistence relations.

I believe that it is particularly useful to ground the separation necessary for articulation on ideological factors. Moe clearly had a different set of priorities in the creation of Folkways, priorities that placed the primary motivation of production into an extra-economic sphere. Many of the decisions made for Folkways were not guided by maximization of profit when there was an opportunity to do so, but rather by the necessity of maintaining the integrity of the Folkways enterprise. The content of recordings were determined in a similar fashion and were not valued by their sales success. This demonstrates that production can be grounded within an ideological sphere - a sphere that can account for both Bourdieu's field of restricted production and Baudrillard's chain of consumption. Simply because an enterprise is 'embedded' in the socio-political fabric of capital does not require that the enterprise is *of* capital, only that it produces *for* capital.

Articulation as it has been formulated and used in this work is only part of the answer in the understanding of Folkways. Though the concept itself is very useful, the history of the concept, with its roots in Althusserian structures, agricultural models and peripheral geographies, is laden with imagery and metaphors that are not necessarily applicable to the type of core-capital articulation that is being proposed here. Instead, a more subjective, actor-driven approach is required. To do this, I would propose a *neo-articulation* model[7] that is more sensitive to the nuance of principles of organization and development. Such a model should more easily account for cottage-type businesses, artistic production, and

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[7] Wendy Aasen was, to my knowledge, the first to suggest the use of such a term.

other forms of musical or artistic production that are motivated by extra-economic forces, yet are obscured by the prevalence of the capitalist relations that they require for their existence. Even Gray (1988) noticed this particular type of ideological production in his analysis of Theresa Records, but was unable to provide anything more than an anecdotal acknowledgment of its importance to the enterprise.

This examination of Folkways Records has demonstrated that such a neo-articulation model can provide an analysis that accounts for more than simply economics. That Folkways was more than just a business can be seen in both Moe Asch's founding principles and the legacy that has been maintained by the Smithsonian Institution since 1986. It is clear that much of the financial success of Folkways can be attributed to the range of relationships and management flexibility that Moe was able to control. The management of Folkways by the Smithsonian has changed a number of these relationships. By the same token, the technological parameters of production and distribution (for example, the Internet) are also changing. With proper vision and guidance, Smithsonian-Folkways Records should persist, continuing to forge new sonic vistas with the same passion and commitment that has characterized its first fifty years.

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DOCUMENTATION NUMBERS AND DESCRIPTIONS

All Documents courtesy of the Moses and Frances Asch Collection, Smithsonian Folkways Archives (unless otherwise noted).

Doc. #	Description
38-001	Business certificate for Radio Laboratories, 23 May 1938
38-002	Lease agreement between The Forward Association and Moe Asch, d.b.a. Radio Laboratories. May 1938.
40-001	Certificate of Business Registration issued to Moe Asch as Asch Recording Studios. Issued 15 April 1940. New York County Clerks Office.
41-002	Contract for recording of Russian National Anthem. Asch Recording Studios. 10 November 1941.
41-003	Contract for recording between Sonny Terry / Huddie Leadbetter and Asch Recording Studios. 10 November 1941.
42-002	Contract between Mrs. C. McDonald and Asch Recording Studios. 20 November 1942
43-001	Letter contract to Moe Asch from Irving Prosky. 25 January 1943.
43-002	5 IOU notes payable plus payment schedule. 27 May - 27 December 1943.
43-002.1	Accounting information and (partial) tally sheets. Asch Recordings. January 1943.
43-002.2	Letter to Scranton Record Co. from Asch Recordings. 18 March 1943.
43-002.3	Letter to Asch Recordings from J. W. Griffin, Scranton Record Co. 22 March 1943.
43-002.4	Letter to Asch Recordings from Scranton Record Co. 21 June 1943.
43-002.5	Contract between Sonny Terry and Moe Asch (on Ellen Spencer Productions letterhead). 6 July 1943.
43-002.6	Letter to Asch Recordings from J. W. Griffin, Scranton Record Co. 29 September 1943.
43-002.7	Manufacturing and license contract between Scranton Record Co. and Asch Recording Studio. 10/12 November 1943.
43-002.8	Contract between Record Syndicate Trust and Asch Recording Studios. 8 December 1943.
43-004	Letter to Asch Recording Studios from Scranton Record Co. 15 December 1943.
44-000.2	Draft statement re: Asch and Stinson. Early 1944.
44-000.3	Contract between Scranton Record Co. and Asch Recordings. 28 February 1944.
44-000.6	Letter to Scranton Record Co. from Herbert Harris, Stinson Trading Co. 25 March 1944.
44-001	Order to Keystone Printed Specialties Co. Scranton, PA from Asch Recording Studios for Stinson Trading Co. 12 April 1944
44-002	Letter to Mayflower Novelty Co., St. Paul, MN. from Asch Recordings. 29 April 1944.
44-003	Order to Keystone Printed Specialties Co. Scranton, PA from Asch Recording Studios. 11 May 1944.
44-004	Letter to Irving Prosky, Asch Recording Studios, NY, from Keystone Printed Specialties Co. Scranton, PA. 11 July 1944.
44-005	Letter to Don's Dependable Service, Los Angeles, CA. from Robert Thiele. (An example of letter sent to several distributor/dealers. 20 July 1944.

Doc. #	Description
44-006	Letter to Moe Asch from Robert Thiele, Signature Record Co. 7 August 1944.
44-006.1	Letter to Asch Recordings from Scranton Record Co. 16 August 1944.
45-000.1	Purchase order to Scranton Record Co. from Moe Asch, Asch Recordings. 24 January 1945.
45-000.2	Letter of contract termination to Scranton Record Co. and Record Syndicate Trust from Asch Recordings. 24 January 1945.
45-002	Order to Keystone Printed Specialties Co. Scranton, PA from Asch Recordings. 13 March 1945
45-003	Receipt for subscription to Romeike Press Clippings. 16 March 1945.
45-004	Order to George Clark (Clark Phono Co.) Harrison NJ. from Asch Records. 28 April 1945.
45-004.1	Contract between DISC Company of America and Charlie Ventura (unsigned). 19 June 1945.
45-005.1	Purchase request list to Scranton Record Co. (unsigned). 16 August 1945.
45-006	Label copy to Keystone Printed Specialties Co. Scranton, PA from Asch Recordings. 11 October 1945.
45-007	Letter to Asch Recordings from Keystone Printed Specialities Co. 5 November 1945.
45-009	Contract between Moe Asch (Asch Recording Studio) and Irving Prosky and Herbert Harris (Stinson Trading Co.) for sale of masters to Stinson. 22 December 1945.
46-002	Business certificate for Union Record Co. Filed with the New York County Clerk's Office. 19 January 1946.
46-002.2	Letter to Moe Asch from T. L. Allen, Scranton Record Co. 1 February 1946.
46-003.1	Letter to Moe Asch from J. J. Corn re: Stinson Trading Co. 13 August 1946.
46-004	DISC Press Release (draft). 20 August 1946.
46-005.1	Letter to Moe Asch, Asch Recording Studios from M. Connerton, Capitol Records, Inc.
46-005.1.1	Letter to Capitol Records, Inc.from DISC. 20 September 1946.
46-006	Inventory of Masters and Mothers received by Moe Asch, Pioneer Records. 25 September 1946.
46-006.1	Letter to Moe Asch, Asch Recording Studios from M. S. Hardy, Capitol Records, Inc. 9 October 1946.
46-008	Business certificate for United Record Sales. Filed with the New York County Clerk's Office. 2 December 1946.
46-009	Letter to jaffe and Jaffe, Esqs, NYC. from J. J. Corn re: action by Burl Ives against Moe Asch as Asch Recording Studios. 30 December 1946.
47-002.1	Court agreement between Moe Asch (Asch Recording Studios) and Irving Prosky and Herbert Harris (Stinson Trading Co.) signed 7 January 1947.
47-004	Orde`lr to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 27 February 1947.

Doc. #	Description
47-004a	Contract between Malverne Distributors and Moe Asch / DISC Company of America. March 1947.
47-005	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 3 March 1947.
47-006	Letter to dealers from Nelson Lewis, Sales Manager for DISC Records of America. 11 March 1947.
47-007	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 14 March 1947.
47-015	Order to Globe Printing, NYC. from Disc Co. of America, NYC. 7 April 1947.
47-019	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 11 April 1947.
47-020	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 11 April 1947.
47-021	Inventory list of Eastern Record Co. holdings as of 14 April 1947.
47-022	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 23 May 1947.
47-028	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 25 June 1947.
47-030	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 3 July 1947.
47-034	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 28 July 1947.
47-035	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 11 August 1947.
47-036	Order to Clark Phono. Co. Newark NJ from DISC Co. of America, NYC. 25 August 1947.
47-037	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 3 September 1947.
47-038	Letter to George Clark, Clark Phono. Co. Harrison, NJ. from Moe Asch, DISC Co. of America. 8 September 1947.
47-039	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 9 September 1947.
47-040	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 12 September 1947.
47-041	Order to Clark Phono. Co. Newark NJ. from DISC Co. of America. 15 September 1947.
47-044	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 17 September 1947.
47-044	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 22 September 1947.
47-045	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 23 September 1947.
47-047	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 29 September 1947.
47-048	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 29 September 1947.
47-049	Order to Kaltman Press, Woodside, LI, NY. Author unk. (likely DISC Co.) 4 October 1947.

Doc. #	Description
47-050	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 5 October 1947.
47-054	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 14 November 1947.
47-054.1	Order to Eastern Record Co. Laurel Hill, LI. from DISC Co. of America. 15 November 1947.
47-056	Order to Clark Phono. Co. Newark NJ. from DISC Co. of America. 4 December 1947.
48-001	Creditor letter and (partial?) list of creditor amounts. 1948.
48-003	Production/Inventory list for DISC: 25 April 1948 (as of 1 February 1948).
48-020	Letter to I. W. Wolfe, Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville TN. from United Record Service. Unsigned. 28 June 1948.
48-024	Letter to F. M. Bennett, Dept. of Education, Div. of Music, Baltimore MD. from United Record Service. 19 July 1948.
48-027	Business certificate for Folkways Records and Service Corp. Filed with the New York County Clerk's Office. 30 July 1948.
48-028	Letter To Whom It May Concern, from Frank Borut. 6 October 1948.
48-030	Analysis of potential business from the Ethnic Folkways series. 2 November 1948.
48-030a	Contract between B&W Record Distributors, Hollywood CA. and Marian Distler, Folkways Records. 1 December 1948.
50-005	License: Folkways Records to Atlantic Records. 11 July 1950.
50-006	Price list from Allentown Record Company Inc. Allentown, PA. Fall 1950.
51-002	Letter to Folkways Records, Attn: Marian Distler from Record Manufacturing Corporation of America, NYC. 16 January 1951.
51-006	Letter to Mrs. Wm. Slupsky, Alaska Native Service School, Chaneliak Alaska from Moe Asch, 23 December 1951.
52-003	Notes by Moe on Eastern Airline stationery re: Folkways marketing plan. 7 April 1952.
52-005	Inventory list sent to Folkways by Plastylite Corp. Plainfield, NJ. 4 September 1952.
54-002	Price Schedule for Custom Record Sales effective January 1954.
54-005	License: Folkways Records to Cue Recording. 13 January 1954.
54-010	License request: Folkways Records to Henry Strauss Productions Inc. 24 May 1954.
55-004.1	Letter to Ralph C. Williams, Custom Record Sales, NYC. from Marian Distler, Folkways Records. 21 March 1955.
55-004.2	Invoice to Folkways Records from RCA Victor Div. of RCA, Camden NJ. for records pressed. 31 March 1955.
55-004.3	Letter to Marian Distler, Folkways Records. from Ralph C. Williams, Custom Record Sales, NYC. 8 April 1955.
55-004.4	Letter to Ralph C. Williams, Custom Record Sales, RCA Victor, NYC. from Marian Distler, Folkways Records. 13 April 1955.
55-006	Cover letter to license agreement: Dr. Johanna Spector/American Friends of Hebrew University to Folkways Records. 23 March 1955

Doc. #	Description
55-007	Letter to Sam Goody from R. C. Williams, RCA-Custom Record Sales, NY^C. 30 March 1955.
55-008	Contract with Musical Sound Books (Paul Lazare and Walther Hennig) and Folkways Records 13 April 1955.
55-008	License: Musical Sound Books, Inc. (Paul Lazare/Walter Hennig) to Folkways Records. 13 April 1955.
55-013	Letter to Carl Reinschild, Custom Record Sales, NYC. from Folkways Records. 28 October 1955.
55-014	Service Contract: Hsin C. Lee to Folkways Records. 28 October 1955.
55-014	Service Contract: Hsin C. Lee to Folkways Records. 28 October 1955.
55-016	Preliminary license offer: Helge Instad / TONO (Oslo, Norway) to Folkways Records. 21 November 1955.
55-017	License: Folkways Records to Silver Burdett Co., NYC. 1 December 1955.
55-018	License: Folkways Records to Sturgis-Grant Productions Inc. 7 December 1955.
56-011	Letter to Plastylite Corp. Plainfield, NJ. from Arlington Sales Agency, Inc. NYC. 22 March 1956.
56-014	Open letter from Paul Noble, Economy Record Co. LI. Reply sent 13 April 1956.
56-017	License: L. M. Bartholomeuz, NYC. to Folkways Records. 28 May 1956.
56-029	Note from S. Sprince, W. Schwann Cataloging, Boston, Mass. 11 September 1956.
56-034	Letter to Harold Courlander from Edward Seaga re: recordings of Jamaican folk music. 23 November 1956.
57-002	Letter to Folkways Receords from R.V. Van Lancker, Rose Records, Belgium. 14 January 1957.
57-006	Letter to Moe Asch from Richard Hill, Notes Magazine, Washington DC. 10 February 1957.
57-013	Service Contract: Herta Marshall to Folkways Records. 5 April 1957.
57-014	Invoice to Moe Asch from R. M. Coles, Book-of-the-Month Club for conference expenses. 7 May 1957.
57-015	License: Folkways Records to Columbia Transcriptions. 27 May 1957
57-017	Letter to Marian Distler from Paul Lazare, Hamburg. 3 June 1957.
57-021	Flyer directed to school principals listing Board of Education approved recordings. July 1957.
57-025	Letter to Moe Asch from L. P. Mabel, Henry M. Snyder and Co., 7 August 1957.
57-033	Collection of reviews used to promote the release of FC 7350.
57-034	Letter to Marian Distler from Leslie Shepard, London. Notes raids by Board of Trade and seizure of LP's with American labels in London. 5 October 1957.
57-036	License: Folkways Records to CBS Television. 24 October 1957.
57-038.1	Letter to Laredy Record Dist. Newark NJ, Attn: J. Fechner from Marian Distler, Folkways Records. 8 November 1957.

Doc. #	Description
57-038.2	Letter to Laredy Record Dist. Newark NJ. from Marian Distler, Folkways Records. 26 December 1957.
57-039	Letter to Folkways Records from Hans Gomperts, Les Editions Internationales Basart, Amsterdam. 5 December 1957.
57-045.1	Outline of sale terms of Speak English series by PHONOTAPES to Folkways. 18 December 1957
57-045.2	License lists of materials traded between Folkways Records and PHONOTAPES. 18 December 1957.
57-400	Loft Lease Agreement between Leniben, Inc. and Folkways Records and Audio Components of America, Inc. 4 April 1957.
58-002	Letter to Kay's Record Distributors, Attn: James B. Klompus from Marian Distler, Folkways Records. 2 January 1958.
58-009	Letter to H. C. Nicholson, The Music Box, Charleston, WV. from Marian Distler. 30 January 1958.
58-010	Letter to Walter Himmelmann, Hamburg, likely from Moe Asch (unsigned).17 February 1958.
58-014	Letter to Moe Asch, from Paul Lazare, Hamburg. 7 March 1958.
58-015	Service Contract: Pete Seeger to Folkways Records. 14 March 1958.
58-021	Letter to Lifetime Recordings, Rochester NY, Attn: L. W. Osband from Moe Asch, 19 May 1958.
58-022.1	Letter to Folkways Records from L. W. Osband, Lifetime Recordings, Rochester NY. 22 May 1958.
58-022.2	Letter to L. W. Osband, Lifetime Recordings, Rochester NY. from Moe Asch, 3 June 1958.
58-023	Letter to Paul Lazare, Hamburg, from Moe Asch. 27May 1958.
58-027.1	Letter to L. W. Osband, Lifetime Recordings, Rochester NY. from Moe Asch, 31 July 1958.
58-027.2	Letter to Folkways Records from L. W. Osband, Lifetime Recordings, Rochester NY. 7 August 1958.
58-029	Letter to I.F. Annan (Ivan Enterprises, Accra, Ghana) from Folkways expressing interest in possible submission of Ghanain music. 25 August 1958.
58-035	Letter to I.F. Annan (Ivan Enterprises, Accra, Ghana) from Folkways. Submitted tapes were not appropriate (professional musicians on radio broadcast). Still interested in mentioned material of major tribal groups in Ghana. 14 October 1958.
58-038	Preliminary License: Folkways Records to Arkia Israel Incland Airlines, Tel-Aviv, Israel. 25 November 1958.
58-040	Letter to Sidney Green, School Days Equipment Co., Los Angeles, CA. from Moe Asch. 28 November 1958.
58-044	Receipts (2) from Sam Goody, NYC. to Folkways Records. 12 December 1958.
59-003	Itinerary listed on inside of Conventions '59 folder. 1959.

Doc. #	Description
59-006	Invoice for exhibit space at the Dept. of Audio-Visual Instruction (DAVI) Convention dated 10 February 1959.
59-010	Letter series between Arthur Cohen and Folkways Records. Five letter between 9 March 1959 and 4 April 1959.
59-018	Production Agreement: Folkways Records to Alpha Music Co., NYC. 23 March 1959.
59-019	Preliminary License: Alpha Music Co. to Folkways Records. 23 march 1959.
59-020	Letter of confirmation of space assignment to Moe Asch from Music Educators National Conference, Washington DC. 26 March 1959.
59-026.1	Letter to Moe Asch from Richard Hill, Notes Magazine, Washington DC. 5 May 1959.
59-026.2	Letter to Richard Hill, Notes Magazine, Washington, DC. from Moe Asch. 8 May 1959.
59-028	Distributor / Dealer List. 21 May 1959.
59-029	Letter to Hachette Company, Paris from Moe Asch. 28 May 1959.
59-029	Letter to Hachette Company, Paris from Moe Asch. 28 May 1959.
59-030	Letter to Gary Sharp, Topic Records from Moe Asch, 29 May 1959.
59-034	Letter to Moe Asch from Gary Sharp, Topic Records, 11 June 1959.
59-038.1	Invoice to Folkways Records from United Convention Services, Inc. 25 June 1959.
59-038.2	Invoice to Folkways Records from Brede Inc. 25 June 1959
59-038.3	Invoice to Folkways Records from United Convention Services, Inc. 17 April 1959.
59-038.4	Invoice to Folkways Records from Brede Inc. 1 April 1959
59-042	Letter to Marian Distler, Folkways Records. from Meyer Rappaport, Gem Albums, NYC. 5 August 1959.
59-043	Exhibitor letter from National Catholic Educational Association, Washington DC. 14 August 1959.
59-044	Letter to Moe Asch from Sid Fox, Children's Music Center, Los Angeles, CA. 20 August 1959
59-047	Letter to Folkways Records from H. Weinraub, Plastylite Corp. Plainfield, NJ. 16 September 1959.
59-047.63	Letter to Moe Asch from H. Weinraub, Plastylite Corp. Plainfield, NJ. 7 October 1963. (Note: .63 was added to the document code to reflect the correct date of the document.)
59-048	Letter to G. A. Korobkin, Jewish Community Centers of Denver, Denver CO. from Ed Badeaux, Folkways Records. 17 September 1959.
59-049	Letter to K. O. Asher, K. O. Asher, Inc. From Marian Distler, Folkways Records.
59-054	Letter to Moe Asch from Wolfgang L[aak?] re: return of tapes of Singhalese (Ceylon) and Corsican music. Berlin, 5 October 1959.
59-059	Letter to R. Butler, Iowa State University, Ames IO. from Ed Badeaux, Folkways Records. 27 October 1959
59-060	Service Agreement: The Gordon V. Thompson for educational distribution of Folkways Records (Sam Gesser). 28 October 1959

Doc. #	Description
59-062	License: Vanguard Recording Society Inc. to Folkways Records. 10 November 1959.
59-063	Service Contract: Malvina REynolds to Folkways Records. 13 November 1959.
59-066	License: Pete Seeger to 77 Records (D. A. Dobell, 77 Charing Cross Rd. London). 2 December 1959.
59-067	Letter to Cosnat Distributors, Cincinnati, OH. from Folkways Records. 4 December 1959
60-004	Letter to Folkways Records from Modern Distributing Co., Inc. 7 January 1960.
60-007	Letter to Ed Badeaux, Folkways Records. from A. Shaffer, Berkeley Area Jewish Community Center, Berkeley CA. 24 February 1960.
60-009	Letter to Moe Asch from V. Warren, WSEL-FM Chicago IL. 4 March 1960.
60-012	Letter to Folkways Records from Hugus Panassie, Hot Club de France, Paris. 15 March 1960
60-014	License: Bell Telephone Labs, Inc. to Folkways Records. 18 march 1960.
60-015	Invoice to Folkways Records from Brede Inc. 22 March 1960.
60-016	Letter to Moe Asch from Colin Shaw, British Broadcasting Corporation, London. re: fees due to the English Musicians' Union for music clearance and potential BBC licensing costs. 23 March 1960.
60-017	Letter to Hugus Panassie, Hot Club de France, Paris from Moe Asch, 24 March 1960
60-022	Letter to Moe Asch from Hugus Panassie, Hot Club de France, Paris. 14 April 1960
60-027	Proof sheets for Folkways Records advertisement in High Fidelity magazine. Proof deadline 22 April 1960.
60-028	Letter to Allied Music Co. Attn: Irving Shorten from Moe Asch. 25 April 1960.
60-031	License: Vanguard Recording Society, Inc. to Folkways Records. 28 April 1960.
60-033	Letter to Ed Cohn, Lesco Dist. Co. Philadelphia, PA from Larry Sockell. 12 May 1960.
60-035	Letter to Larry Sockell from Gene Frawley, Keynote Distribution Co. Cleveland OH. 20 May 1960.
60-041	Letter to Ed Cohn, Lesco Distribution Co. Philadelphia PA from Larry Sockell. 1 June 1960.
60-042	License: Vanguard Recording Society, Inc. to Folkways Records. 3 June 1960 (unsigned).
60-043	Letter to Ed Cohn, Lesco Distribution Co. Philadelphia PA from Larry Sockell. 9 June 1960.
60-047	License: Folkways Records to A. H. Reed, Ltd. New Zealand. 1 July 1960.
60-058	Letter to Folkways Records re:Lyon and Healy Inc. Chicago, from K. O. Asher. 10 September 1960.
60-060	Letter to Sid Fox, Curriculum Center, Los Angeles, CA from Marian Distler, Folkways Records. 14 September 1960.
60-064	Shipping order to Folkways Records from Plastylite Corp. Plainfield, NJ. 20 September 1960.
60-070	Letter to Moe Asch from Ken Lindsay, Agate & Co., London. 18 October 1960.

Doc. #	Description
60-074	Letter to Moe Asch from Agate & Co. London. 25 October 1960.
60-080	Letter to Ed Cohn, Lesco Distribution Co. Philadelphia PA from Larry Sockell. 15 November 1960.
60-081	Letter to R. Miller, Lee-Myles Associates, NYC. from W. P. Baxter, New Yorker magazine. 16 November 1960.
60-084	Letter to Larry Sockell from Ed Cohn, Lesco Distribution Co. Philadelphia PA. 21 November 1960
60-087	Letter to Moe Asch from Molly Harrison, Record and Sound Retailing, NYC. 9 December 1960.
60-088	Letter to C. Freeland, Rebel Recording Co. Mt. Ranier MD. from Larry Sockell, Syosett, LI. 28 December 1960.
61-002	License: Indiana University / Archives of Folk and Traditional Music to Folkways Records. 3 January 1961.
61-005	Letter to Moe Asch from M. M. Jacobs, Music Merchants, Inc. Detroit, MI. 23 January 1961.
61-011	Letter to Ed Rosenblatt, Cosnat Distributors, Cincinnati, OH. from Moe Asch. 14 February 1961.
61-012	Letter to I. K. Distributing, Cincinnati, OH. from Moe Asch. 14 February 1961.
61-013	Memo to Moe Asch from Larry Sockell. 22 February 1961.
61-014	Letter to Keynote Distribution Co. Attn: Gene Frawley from Moe Asch. 24 February 1961.
61-021	License: Folkways Records to Arnoldo Mondadori Editore. 15 June 1961.
61-023	Letter to Earle A. Sampson, Jr., Recording Associates, Mansfield, Mass. from Moe Asch, 20 May 1961.
61-029	Letter to A. G. Seidman, Federal Trade Commission, U.S. Court House, NYC., from Moe Asch. 21 June 1961.
61-033	Letter to Leslie Distr., Hartford, Conn. from Moe Asch, 15 July 1961.
61-037	Letter to Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records from Moe Asch.5 September 1961.
61-039	Letter to L. W. Osband, Lifetime Recordings, Rochester NY from Moe Asch. 16 September 1961
61-040	Letter to H. Darling, Sign of the Sun Books, San Diego CA. from Folkways Records. 27 September 1961.
61-042	Letter to Sign of the Sun Books, San Diego CA. from Moe Asch. 7 October 1961.
61-048	Letter to John Penny, The Penny Co. Boston from Larry Sockell. 17 October 1961.
61-053	Letter to E. Paull, Credit Manager, Allied Record Mfg. Co., Los Angeles, CA. from Moe Asch, Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. 6 December 1961.
61-054	Letter to Folkways Records, Attn: Moe Asch from E. Paull, Credit Manager, Allied Record Mfg. Co., Los Angeles, CA. 19 December 1961.
62-005	License: Folkways Records to Cosdel Inc. 1 February 1962.

Doc. #	Description
62-006	Letter to Moe Asch from Natalia Danesi Murray, Mondadori Publishing, includes text of award parchment, 15 February 1962. Reply from Moe Asch, 17 February 1962.
62-007	Amendments to 62-005
62-010	Letter to Mr. Southam from Moe Asch. Attributed to Jupiter Records. 24 March 1962.
62-019	Letter to K. E. Knudsen, Dansk Grammofonpladeforlag, Copenhagen from Harold Orenstein, Orenstein and Arrow, Solicitors. 15 June 1962.
62-020	Letter to Moe Asch from Laurance Cone, 10 June 1962; Letter to Laurance Cone from Moe Asch, 14 June 1962.
62-025.1	Letter to Moe Asch from Harold L. Friedman, NYC. 18 July 1962.
62-025.2	Letter to Harold L. Friedman, NYC. from Moe Asch. 25 July 1962.
62-033	Letter to K. E. Knudsen, Dansk Grammofonpladeforlag, Copenhagen from Moe Asch, 29 September 1962.
62-035	Letter to Florida Music Sales, Attn: Steve Brookmire from Larry Sockell. 16 October 1962.
62-036	Letter to Hopkins Equipment Co. Attn: Bob Evenson. from Larry Sockell. 16 October 1962.
62-038	Letter to C. & C. Dist. Co. Attn: Gene Becker from Larry Sockell. 30 November 1962.
63-001	Letter to Folkways Records from G. W. Seelig, Hamburg, 10 January 1963.
63-002	Letter to Folkways Records from Legal Department of Electrola Gesellschaft m.b.H., Koln-Braunfeld. 11 February 1963.
63-004	Letter to Tondienst Hamburg, attn. Walter Hennig, from Moe Asch. 17 January 1963.
63-005	Letter to Electrola Gesellschaft M.B.H., Koln-Braunsfeld, Germany, from Moe Asch. 17 January 1963.
63-005	License: Ivan Annan to Folkways Records. 25 January 1964.
63-006	Letter to Jack Kall, Stinson Records from H. R. Etlinger, Orenstein and Arrow, Solicitors. cc to Moe Asch. 23 January 1963.
63-011	Letter to Moe Asch from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records, 5 March 1963.
63-016	License: Folkways Records to Transatlantic Records Ltd. 16 April 1964.
63-020	Letter to Moe Asch from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records, 3 July 1963. Reply from Moe Asch, 7 July 1963.
63-021	Letter series between Sandra Wilson and Moe Asch: 11 July 1963, 13 July 1963, 18 August 1963, 27 January 1964, 14 March 1966.
63-022	Letter to Moe Asch from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records, 2 August 1963. Reply from Moe Asch, 10 August 1963.
63-026	Letter to Sam Gesser, Folkways Records, from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records, 14 October 1963. Includes list of initial English releases (17 Items).
63-030	Letter to Phonolog Publishing Co. Los Angeles, CA. from Moe Asch. 6 December 1963.
64-006	License: Folkways Records to TROVA Industrias Musicales, Buenos Aires, Argentina. 1 March 1964.

Doc. #	Description
64-006	License: Folkways Records to TROVA Industrias Musicales, Buenos Aires, Argentina. 1 March 1964.
64-007	Letter of amendment to 64-006. 1 March 1964.
64-007	Letter of amendment to 64-006. 1 March 1964.
64-010	Letter to F. J. Dempsey, Director, Berkeley Public Library, Berkeley, CA. from Moe Asch. 27 March 1964.
64-011	License: Folkways Records to US Committee for UNICEF. 30 March 1964.
64-012	Letter of clarification to TROVA re: 64-006 with response. 6 April 1964.
64-012	Letter of clarification to TROVA re: 64-006 with response. 6 April 1964.
64-024	Letter to Moe Asch from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records 20 May 1964.
64-027	Letter Series:
	Letter to Moe Asch, Pioneer Records Sales, Inc. from K. O. Asher, K. O. Asher, Inc. 27 April 1964.
	Letter to Moe Asch, Folkways Records from K. O. Asher, K. O. Asher, Inc. 1 June 1964.
	Letter to Pioneer Record Sales from K. O. Asher, K. O. Asher, Inc. 23 September 1964.
	Letter to K. O. Asher, Inc. from Abner Levin, 25 September 1964.
64-028	Letter to Paul Cooper, Record Retailers Ltd., London, from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records, 1 June 1964.
64-029	Letter to Moe Asch from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records 4 June 1964.
64-031	Letter to Walter Alshuk, RCA from Moe Asch. 19 June 1964.
64-037	Financial statements from Orenstein and Orenstein, CPA. 30 June 1964.
64-039	Service Contract: between Folkways Records and RCA-Custom Record Sales. 1 July 1964.
64-041	Guarantor agreement between Pioneer Record Sales and RCA. 9 July 1964.
64-049	Letter to Patricia Coleman, Ed. Asst. Scholastic Teacher, NYC. from John G. Vrotsos, Jr. Education, Folkways Records. 12 August 1964.
64-052	Agreement in Principle: Dept. of English, Yale University, Yale Series of Recorded Poets to Folkways Records. 12 October 1964.
64-056	Letter to Moe Asch from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records 19 October 1964.
64-057	Draft of letter to H. L. Weaver, Information Services, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Elkhart, Indiana from Moe Asch. 29 October 1964.
64-060	Letter to Moe Asch from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records, 23 December 1964.
64-061	Letter to Toshi Seeger from Moe Asch. 24/25 December 1964.
64-063	Agreement in Principle: Follett Publishing Co. to act as educational distributors for Folkways Records. 31 December 1964.
65-001	Press Release for DISC Records. 18 January 1965.
65-006	Letter to Pete Seeger from Moe Asch. 23 January 1965.

Doc. #	Description
65-007	Letter to Editor, New York Times re: Rebuttal to Martin Luther King, Jr. from Moe Asch 25 January 1965.
65-011	Letter attention Patricia Butler, A. P. Watt & Son, London, from Moe Asch. 18 February 1965.
65-014	License: Vanguard Recording Society Inc. to Folkways Records. 1 March 1965.
65-016	License: Folkways Records to Transatlantic Records. 8 March 1965.
65-017	License: Folkways Records to Transatlantic Records (for previously licensed material). 8 March 1965.
65-018	Letter to Folkways Records from Himmelmann/Seelig, Hamburg. 11 March 1965.
65-019	Letter to Tondienst Hamburg, attn: Gottfried Bergholt, Hamburg, from Moe Asch. 15 March 1965.
65-024	Listing: Folkways Records issued by Chant du Monde.
65-025	Contract between Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. and Scholastic Magazines, Inc. May 1965.
65-025	Notice of Assignment: Folkways Records to Scholastic Magazines Inc. re: Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. May 1965.
65-026	Exerpts of License: Folkways Records to MGM re: Verve-Folkways releases. 3 May 1965.
65-029	Balance Sheet and Income Statement for Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. for year ending December 31, 1964. Prepared by Becker and Becker. 14 May 1965.
65-030	Letter to Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records from Moe Asch, 23 May 1965.
65-031	Letter to Moe Asch from Gary Sharp, Topic Records, 9 June 1965.
65-032	Letter to D. A. Dobell, Dobell's Jazz Record Shop, London, from Moe Asch. 11 June 1965.
65-035	Letter to Moe Asch from Gary Sharp, Topic Records, 20 July 1965.
65-036	Letter to V. C. Clinton-Baddeley, Jupiter Records from Moe Asch, 28 July 1965.
65-036	Letter to V. C. Clinton-Baddeley, Jupiter Records, London, England from Moe Asch. 28 July 1965.
65-039	Television contract with WNJU-TV Ch. 47, Newark, NJ. via Advertiser's Broadcasting Co. NYC. 12 August 1965.
65-040	Financial statements from Becker and Becker, CPA. 30 June 1965.
65-045	License (unsigned): Folkways Records to A. H. Reed, New Zealand. 30 September 1965.
65-047	Letter to Moe Asch from Mike Glasser, Transglobal Music, 12 October 1965.
65-049	Letter to Broadside Magazine from Moe Asch. 16 October 1965.
65-050	Letter to Gordon Friesen, Broadside Magazine from Moe Asch. 19 October 1965.
65-056	Letter to E. A. DiResta, Dirco Enterprises. NYC. from Moe Asch, 11 November 1965.
65-057	Letter To Whom it may Concern re:SING-IN FOR PEACE from Moe Asch. 14 November 1965.
65-064	Letter to Moe Asch from Gary Sharp, Topic Records, 16 December 1965.

Doc. #	Description
65-066	Invoice to Moe Asch from Advertisers' Broadcast Co.. 23 December 1965.
65-067	Production Schedule for the week of 23 December 1965.
66-001	Production Schedule for the week of 13 January 1966
66-002	Production Schedule for the week of 17 January 1966
66-003	Copy of Airgram from Leopoldville to Department of State (Bukavu, Elizabethville) re: trade complaint: Bernard Dikita v. Folkways Records. 20 January 1966
66-005	Letter to the editors of Ethnomusicology from Moe Asch. 6 February 1966.
66-007	Production Schedule for the week of 9 February 1966
66-008.1	Letter to Folkways Records from Mrs. Geshelin, Lyric Sales, Inc. Los Angeles, CA. 2 Februrary 1966.
66-008.2	Letter to Mrs. Geshelin, Lyric Sales, Inc. Los Angeles, CA. from Moe Asch, 10 February 1966.
66-011	Letter to A.C. Rutzen (US Dept. Of Commerce and J.L. Collins (International Trade Specialist) from Moe Asch. 9 March 1966.
66-013	Letter to Moe Asch from J. Fukunishi (representing Ryutaro Hattori) re: status of tapes of Japanese folk songs. (Moe had already paid out $200 for the tapes.) Tokyo, 4 April 1966.
66-014	Letter to Miles Lourie from Moe Asch. 24 April 1966.
66-015	Letter to E. A. DiResta, Dirco Enterprises, NYC. from Miles Lourie. 4 May 1966.
66-021	License: Folkways Records to Sonet Grammofon Ab. Stockholm, Sweden. 3 August 1966.
66-022	Letter to Moe Asch from Lynn Sherr, Film Strip Editor, Associated Press, NYC. 6 September 1966.
66-023	Letter to Lynn Sherr, Film Strip Editor, Associated Press, NYC. from Moe Asch. 10 September 1966.
67-001	Letter to V. C. Clinton-Baddeley, Jupiter Recordings Ltd., London, England from Moe Asch. 28 January 1967.
67-004	Letter series:
	Letter to Moe Asch from R. Thalheim, Electrola Gesellschaft m.b.H., Koln-Braunfeld. 18 July 1966.
	Letter to R. Thalheim, Electrola Gesellschaft m.b.H., Koln-Braunfeld, from Moe Asch. 1 August 1966.
	Letter to Ernst Schwer, Scholastic Magazines and Books, from F. Schorn, Legal Dept. Electrola Gesellschaft m.b.H., Koln-Braunfeld. 9 February 1967.
	Letter to F. Schorn, Legal Dept. Electrola Gesellschaft m.b.H., Koln-Braunfeld from Moe Asch. 28 February 1967.
	Letter to Ernst Busch, East Germany from Moe Asch. 8 March 1967.
67-013	List of accounts to which Excise Tax refunds were paid. 2 November 1967.
67-014	Letter to Moe Asch from Nicholas M. England, Director-at-Large, Society for Ethnomusicology, Columbia University, NYC. 14 November 1967.

Doc. #	Description
67-015	Letter to Folkways Records from Giovanni Fabbri, Fratelli Fabbri Editori, Milan, 30 November 1967.
68-003	Letter to Richard Howson, Lowndes Productions Ltd. London, UK. from Moe Asch. 10 February 1968.
68-007	Royalty Agreement: Pete Seeger to Folkways Records. 2 April 1968.
68-011	License: Folkways Records to Functional Media, Inc. Chicago, Ill. 18 April 1968.
68-014	Letter to Moe Asch from D. E. Layman, Scholastic Magazines, Inc. NYC. 21 May 1968.
68-015	Letter to Miles Lourie, NYC. from Moe Asch. 24 May 1968.
68-017	Letter to Walter Heussner, Scholastic Magazines, NYC. from Moe Asch. 24 May 1968.
68-021	License: Folkways Records to Fratelli Babbri Editori, Italy. 25 June 1968.
68-024	Letter to Moe Asch, Folkways Records from Walter Alshuk, Custom Record Sales, NYC. 14 August 1968.
68-027	Letter series: Letter to Moe Asch from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records 11 October 1968; Letter to Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records, from Moe Asch, 24 October 1968.
69-001	Letter to Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records from Ernest Schwehr, Publisher, [Scholastic/Folkways?]. 28 February 1969.
69-008	Offer of license to Sonet Grammofon Ab, Stockholm, Sweden from Ernest Schwehr, publisher, Scholastic Magazines, Inc. 11 July 1969.
69-009	Letter to S. Dworkin, Head of Educational Programs Dept., Bell Telephone Labs., Murray Hill, NJ, from Moe Asch, Folkways Records. 18 July 1969.
69-012	Letter to Ella Jenkins, Chicago, IL, from Moe Asch, Folkways Records. 14 August 1969.
69-014	Letter to Moe Asch from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records, 18 August 1969.
69-018	Letter to Moe Asch from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records, 22 October 1969.
69-019	Letter to Moe Asch from Nathan Joseph, Transatlantic Records, 31 October 1969.

CATALOG LISTINGS ('C' - CODED DOCUMENTS)

Catalog Number	Description
A-01	ASCH Records catalog. nd.
A-02	ASCH Records release sheet. ASCH 370. nd.
A-03	ASCH Records release sheet. ASCH 345. nd.
A-04	ASCH Records catalog. nd.
A-05	ASCH Records catalog. nd.
A-06	ASCH Records catalog. H-Series. nd.
A-07	ASCH Records catalog. nd.
A-08	ASCH Records release sheet. ASCH 350. nd.
A-10	ASCH Records catalog. Folksongs, Dances, Cantorials. nd.
A-11	ASCH Records release sheet. Signature S1-1. nd.
A-13	ASCH Records release sheet. ASCH 350
A-15	ASCH/Stinson catalog. ASCH Folksay. nd.
D-03	DISC Records catalog. Featuring DISC 629. nd.
D-05	DISC Records release sheet. DISC 505. © 1946.
D-06	DISC Records catalog and price list. As of 1 August 1946.
D-08	DISC Records catalog. Ballroom dance records. 1947.
D-09	DISC Records catalog. Featuring DISC 604. © 1946
D-11	DISC Records catalog. Ballroom dance records. nd.
D-12	DISC Records catalog. Folk music feature. nd.
D-14	DISC Records catalog. Ethnic Series. © 1947.
DB-01	DISC Bulletin #1. December 1945.
DB-02	DISC Bulletin #2. nd.
DB-03	DISC Bulletin #3. nd.
DB-04	DISC Bulletin #4. nd.
DB-06	DISC Bulletin #6. nd.
DB-07	DISC Bulletin #7. nd.
DB-08	DISC Bulletin #8. nd.
DB-09	DISC Bulletin #9. nd.
DB-10	DISC Bulletin #10. nd.
DB-11	DISC Bulletin #11. nd.
DB-12	DISC Bulletin #12. nd.

Catalog Number	Description
DB-13	DISC Bulletin #13. nd.
DB-14	DISC Bulletin #14. nd.
DB-15	DISC Bulletin #15. nd.
DB-16	DISC Bulletin #16. nd.
DB-17	DISC Bulletin #17. nd.
DB-18	DISC Bulletin #18. nd.
DB-20	DISC Bulletin #20. nd.
DB-22	DISC Bulletin #22. nd.
DB-23	DISC Bulletin #23. nd.
DB-24	DISC Bulletin #24. nd.
DB-28	DISC Bulletin #28. nd.
DB-29	DISC Bulletin #29. nd.
DB-31	DISC Bulletin #31. nd.
DB-32	DISC Bulletin #32. nd.
DB-33	DISC Bulletin #33. nd.
DB-34	DISC Bulletin #34. nd.
DB-36	DISC Bulletin #36. nd.
DB-37	DISC Bulletin #37. nd.
DB-38	DISC Bulletin #38. nd.
DB-42	DISC Bulletin #42. nd.
FW-02	Folkways Records catalog. Ethnic Folkways Library. nd.
FW-03	Folkways Records catalog and price list. As of 1 March 1955.
FW-04	Folkways Records catalog and price list. With number changes. 1957.

X-Series Documents.

ALL DOCUMENTS UNDATED UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED.

Doc. No.	Description
X-001	Compilation of foreign accounts with their price structures.
X-002	Internal list of political releases by Folkways from 1947.
X-003	Schedules 'A' and 'B' of the Folkways/MGM Agreement 1965.
X-004	Recording itinerary for Asch Recording, 1944-1945.
X-005	Contract between Bob Pope and Moe Asch, Asch Recording Studios. 19 January 1945.
X-006	Copy for a short outline of the importance of booklets in the presentation of recorded material. Appears to be part of 'Periscope' copy.
X-007	Draft copy of editorial for Periscope (tenatively titled 'From the Control Room'.
X-008	Continuation of 'Humble-Proud' copy for Periscope.
X-009	Business strategy outline for DISC.
X-010	Typed list of Music on DISC - Anthology of DISC Booklets.
X-011	Unsorted typed notes regarding artists and sales of DISC records.
X-012	Operations of the DISC Company of America from its Inception to Date of Proceedings - bankruptcy document.
X-013	MGM/Folkways agreement, 1 April 1965.
X-014	Contract between MGM and Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. 3 May 1965.
X-016	Draft of release concerning MGM/Folkways and Scholastic/Folkways contracts.
X-017	Document titled "Questions and Answers for Scholastic Resident Representatives about Scholastic's New Long-Playing Record Program"
X-018	List of ads running on a regular schedule, from Lee-Myles Associates.
X-019	List of accounts paid from Lee-Myles Associates.
X-020	Letter to Moe from 'Bob' at Lee-Myles Associates.
X-021	Contract between Folkways Records and Transatlantic Records, London. 8 March 1963.

INTERVIEWS CITED

AV-1: Marilyn Averett Interview. Conducted at Sommerville, MASS. 30 July 1991 by Jeff Place, Tony Seeger, Lori Taylor, and Matt Walters. Folkways Archive: FP - 1993 - CT - 0289.

LS-1: Larry Sockell Interview. Phone interview with the author: 24 November 1996.

MA-1: Moses Asch Interview: Edmonton, AB: Aug. 15, 1973. Edmonton Public Library. (Interviewer unknown).

PS-1: Pete Seeger Interview. Phone interview with the author: 13 May 1998.

SG-1: Sam Gesser Interview. Phone interview with the author: 21 November 1996.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Recording Itinerary for Asch Recordings, 1944-1945 (X-004)[1].

Artist	Date	Schedule
Richard Dyer Bennet	Oct. 4 1945	6 sides
James P. Johnson	Feb 27. 45	1:30 - 3:30
Jerry Jerome	June 6. 45	8 - 1 AM.
Carlos Montoya	Sept 13. 45	6 sides
Mary Lou Williams	May 30. 45	3 - 6 PM.
Bob Pope[2]	Jan. 19. 45	3 - 6 PM.
Jerry Jerome	March 7. 45	7:30 - 10:30, 10:30 - 11:30
James P. Johnson	March 26. 45	2 - 5
Cecil Anderson	March 31. 45	6 sides
Mary Lou Williams	April 10. 45	3 - 6
Cecil Anderson	April 2. 45	6 - 9 PM
Tom Glazer	May 11. 45	7:30 - 9:30 PM
Mary Lou Williams	Dec. 15. 1944	2:30 - 5:30, 6 - 9 PM
Josh White	Dec. 2. 1944	4 - 7 PM
Stuff Smith	Sept. 8. 1944	2 - 5 PM
Meade Lux Lewis	Aug. 18. 1944	6 hours
Mary Lou Williams	June 12. 1944	3 - 6 PM
Mary Lou Williams	March 4. 1944	3 hours.

[1] Presented in the order and format that it appears on the original document.

[2] This entry is corroborated by a contract signed by Bob Pope and Moe Asch. Pope was paid $60 for the session (X-005).

Appendix 2

Music on DISC (Anthology of DISC booklets) (X-010)[3]

FOLKWAYS OF THE WORLD: USA	
NEGRO FOLKSONGS LEAD BELLY	DISC 660
WORK SONGS OF USA: LEAD BELLY	DISC 735
SONGS BY LEAD BELLY - SONNY TERRY	DISC 734
WOMEN BLUES: JOSH WHITE	DISC 661
SPIRITUALS: THRASHER - GOSP. KEYS	DISC 658
CREOLE SONGS	DISC 629
AMERICA'S FAVORITE SONGS	DISC 607
BALLADS FR. DUST BOWL: GUTHRIE	DISC 610
SONGS OF THE HUDSON VALLEY	DISC 611
ELIZ. LOVE SONGS	DISC 609
AMERICAN LEGENDS	DISC 725 RELEASE
SEVEN JOYS OF MARY: NILES	DISC 732
SQUARE DANCES W. CALLS	DISC 630
SQUARE DANCES W. CALLS	DISC 631
MIDNIGHT SPECIAL: LEAD BELLY	DISC 726
SPIRITUALS: VOL. 2	DISC 657
AMERICA'S FAVORITE SONGS: VOL. 2	DISC 633
JOHN JACOB NILES: VOL. 2	DISC 733
CHILD BALLADS: JOHN JACOB NILES	DISC 665
ERNESTINE WASHINGTON	DISC 712
AMERICAN BALLADS	DISC 663
CRATIS WILLIAMS	DISC 662
BLUE RIDGE BALLADS: TEXAS GLADDEN, H. SMITH	DISC 737
COWBOY SONGS: CISCO HUSTON	DISC 608
FOLKWAYS OF THE WORLD: OTHER COUNTRIES	
CALYPSO I	DISC 614
CALYPSO II	DISC 628
GUITAR: CARLOS MONTOYA	DISC 615
FLAMENCO SONGS: MIRALLES	DISC 721
SONGS WE REMEMBER: SPANISH	DISC 720
CALYPSO III	DISC 640
FINNISH SONGS	DISC 750
CHORAL MUSIC: USSR	DISC 756
ETHNIC SERIES	
AMER. INDIAN SONGS & DANCES	DISC 161 NO BKLT
FOLK MUSIC OF HAITI	DISC 142 NO BKLT
FOLK MUSIC OF CENT. EAST	DISC 132 NO BKLT
JEWISH & PALESTINIAN FOLK SONGS	DISC 937 NO BKLT

[3] This list is reproduced as presented on the list. Title is the same as on the original.

HEBREW FOLK MELODIES	DISC 902 NO BKLT
FOLK MUSIC OF ETHIOPIA	DISC 141
CUBAN CULT MUSIC	DISC 131
CANTOR MALAVSKY & FAMILY CHOIR	DISC 930
HIGH HOLIDAYS: CANTOR JONAH BINDER	DISC 904
CANTOR WALDMAN: VOL. II	DISC 931
CANTOR WALDMAN: VOL. III	DISC 903
CANTOR WALDMAN: VOL. I	DISC 900
SABBATH PRAYERS: CANTOR JONAH BINDER	DISC 901
HATIKVAH	DISC 6100
CHILDREN'S ALBUMS	
NURSERY DAYS: SONGS TO GROW ON	DISC 605
SCHOOL DAYS: SONGS TO GROW ON	DISC 604
FOLK SONGS: SONGS TO GROW ON	DISC 603
FUNNYBONE ALLEY W. TEXT OF SONGS	DISC 606
ANIMAL JAM	DISC 724
SONGS TO GROW ON: NURSERY WORK SONGS	DISC 602
LULLABIES AND ROUNDS	DISC 601
CITY SINGS FOR MICHAEL	DISC 740
RHYTHM BAND MUSIC	DISC 742
IN THE BEGINNING: SHOLEM ASCH	DISC 1001
JAZZ, BLUES, BOOGIE WOOGIE	
JAZZMEN SERIES	
SULLIVAN JAZZ QUARTET	DISC 701
PEE WEE RUSSELL	DISC 632
MUGSY SPANIER	DISC 711
BABY DODDS DRUM ALBUM	DISC 709
BROWNIE MCGHEE	DISC 727
LONNIE JOHNSTON	DISC 710
DOC EVANS' DIXIELAND FIVE	DISC 714
DOC EVANS' DIXIELAND FIVE: VOL. II	DISC 715
BLUES IN JAZZ	
STELLA BROOKS W. ORCH.	DISC 620
LONNIE JOHNSON, vc., gt., & pf.	DISC 710
OTHER BAND GROUPS (OR: MISC. JAZZ GROUPS)	
JAZZ AT THE PHILHARMONIC VOL. 2	DISC 501
JAZZ AT THE PHILHARMONIC VOL. 3	DISC 503
JAZZ AT THE PHILHARMONIC VOL. 4	DISC 504
JAZZ AT THE PHILHARMONIC VOL. 5	DISC 507
OPERA IN VOUT	DISC 505
OMER SIMEON TRIO	DISC 708
JOHN KIRBY: DISC	DISC 621
KING COLE QUINTET	DISC 506
LADY BE GOOD	DISC 2005
MILTON ORENT: FRANK ROTH ORCHESTRA	DISC 705
THE FOUR STRINGS	DISC 707

JAZZ PIANO	
MEADE LUX LEWIS: PHILHAR.	DISC 502
MARY LOU WILLIAMS	DISC 612
MIDNIGHT PIANO	DISC 706
GARNER-KYLE ALBUM	DISC 622
MUSIC TO DANCE BY	
401-406 INCLUDE.	
RARE CLASSICS	
PIANO	
ERNO BALOGH	DISC 770-772 INCLUDE.
JOSEF LHEVINNE	DISC 774 NO BKLT
SIEGMEISTER - AMER. SONATA	DISC 773
PF & VC NIGHT WITHOUT SLEEP	DISC 730
Eugene Onegin: TSCHAIKOVSKY	DISC 755. 755a, 755b NO BKLT
ROMEO & JULIET: PROKOFIEFF	DISC 754 OR 7545
J. S. BACH, LITTLE PRELUDES	DISC 771
HOVHANESS & CAGE	DISC 875
HOVHANESS ORCHESTRAL	DISC 876
CAGE	DISC 877
SEXTET ON HEBREW THEMES: PROKOFIEFF	DISC 4020
KHATCHATURIAN: MASQUERADE SUITE	DISC 800
THE BELLS: RACHMANINOFF	DISC 804
DOCUMENTARY ON FOLLOWING I HAVE RAMSEY'S NOTES (PROB. USED INSIDE COVERS	
LIBERATION OF PARIS	DISC 51 RELEASE
L'HONNEUR DES POETES	DISC 52
POEMS: PEGUY	DISC 54
CLAUDE ROY: POEMS	DISC 55
CLAUDE ROY	DISC 56
STERLING BROWN	DISC 39
ALFRED KREYMBORG	DISC 38
LANGSTON HUGHES: POEMS	DISC 37
WOODY GUTHRIE	DISC 40
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	DISC 201
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	DISC 204
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	DISC 205
ROLL THE UNION ON	DISC 370
WOODY GUTHRIE	DISC 360

Appendix 3

Material for PERISCOPE (X-010).[4]

item.

1. modern art songs
2. flamenco
3. swing
4. calypso
5. folk
6. jazz
7. documentary
8. negro spirituals
9. children
10. ballads - traditional and bardic
20. opera
21. solo instrumental
22. album package sales [crossed off]
23. poetry
24. americana - homespun
25. symphonic
26. piano
27. basic classics
29. love songs
30. square dances
31. walk in the sun
32. social dancing
33. moldy figs and sour grapes
34. satire
35. gypsy songs
36. ethnic
37. modern american composition
38. creole songs
39. human interest
40. trade news
41. the role of an artist like burl ives
42. briefs
43. ethnic
44. john jacob niles
45. universities
46. people's songs
47. sales and promotion
48. publicity and advertising
49. dont miss
50. the month's best
51. People's Songs
52. Juke Box Scoops
53. the role and responsibility of the distributor and dealer to the customer [marked with '#1' and a bracket with 'only' written underneath.]

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[4] Printed on DISC letterhead, this list appears to be a draft list. Numbers are as they are found on the list.

Appendix 4

DISC Company production summary list as of 1 February 1948 (48-003[5])

Unissued Records
26 sides of Timmie Rosenkranz
Kaufman Represents:
Repeggi Sonata
Bennett Sonata
Tchaikovsky Trio
Bach Concerto
Delius Sonata
Bach Partita
Violin Recital
Rachmilovich Represents:
Hayden Symphony
Glinka Dances
7 Chamber Works
Disc Owns:
Summer Day Suite and Piano Tocata
Slow Waltzes
Tristano Trio Album
Tristano Quartet Album
Sara Gorby Jewish Album
Sholem Secunda Jewish Album
James P. Jonson Piano Album
Hassid Dances Album Jewish
Songs of Louisiana Van Wey
Smokey Mountain Songs Van Wey
Poems by Sterling Brown
Cartis Williams Child Ballads
Indian Medicine Songs
Finnish Ballads
Lead Belly and Sonny Terry Album
In the Beginning
Work Songs of the USA
Choral Music of the USSR
Unissued Masters:
DISC owns cont.[6]
Tchaikovsky 2nd Symphony
Bottle and Spoon Calypso
Woody Guthrie Childrens (baby) album
4 sides of childrens Folk Song Album

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5 Obvious spelling errors were corrected. Alternate spellings were left as in the original document.

6 There may or may not be at least one page missing from this list. It looks from the document that there is an earlier part to this list of Unissued Masters.

Cowboy Album
Handy Album
Prince Igor Opera
Paid to be recorded:
International Dances
Clarence Williams
Have but need contracts:
India Dances (paid out $400.00)
Chamber Music from Palestine
Charles Ives
Poems by Claude Roy
France in Poems by Claude Roy
Equitorial Africa
Woody Guthrie Noise Album
2 sides for Childrens Folk Song Album

Appendix 5

DISC inventories with Clark Phonograph Record Co. (September 1946) and Eastern Record Co. (April 1947).

Clark Phonograph Record Co. Inventory received from Clark by Pioneer Records Inc c/o Mr. Asch 25 Sept. 1946. (46-006.)

10" Masters	10" Mothers	12" Masters	12" Mothers
#D 137	#D 150	#3250	#3256
#D 138	#D 151	#3251	#3257
#D 139		#3252	#3258
#D 140		#3253	#3259
#D 141		#3254	#3260
#D 142		#3255	#3261
#D 143		#3256	#3262
#D 150		#3257	#3263
#D 151		#3258	
		#3259	
		#3260	
		#3261	
		#3262	
		#3263	
		#3283	
		#3284	
		#3285	
		#3286	
		#3287	
		#D 500	

Eastern Record Co. DISC inventory list as of 14 April 1947. (47-021.)

Record Number	Stamper Numbers	Record Number	Stamper Numbers
10401	406, 407	5073	596, 593
10402	356, 355	5074	592, 597
10403	356-1, 357	5075	594, 595
10404	372, 373	6046	626, 627
10420	435, 466	6047	628, 629
10421	444, 442	6017	586, 589
10422	436, 465	6018	587, 590
10423	443, 445	6019	585, 588
10450	570, 572	6035	532, 528
10451	573, 574	6036	527, 531
10452	571, 575	6037	529, 530
10453	576, 569	6055	651, 654
6024	455, 456	6056	652, 653
6025	457, 458		
6026	459, 460		

Appendix 6

Pressing Orders Placed to Eastern Record Co. for DISC in 1947.[1]

27 Feb 1947. (47-004)

10 000 #6024A and #6024B.

3 March 1947. (47-005)

1000 each	#10401
1000 each	#10403
1000 each	#10420
1000 each	#10453

14 March 1947. (47-007)

1000	#6046	Masters #626, #627
1000	#6047	Masters #628, #629
1500	20601 (sic) maybe #0601	Masters #611, #610
1000	6067	Masters #656, #658
10 000	#6024	Masters #455, #456

11 April 1947. (47-019)

2000	#6026	Masters 459, 460
1000	#6701	Masters 517, 518
1000	6702	Masters 516, 515
1000	6705	Masters 513, 514

11 April 1947. (47-020)

1 mother, 1 master and 3 stampers of each of: D 688; D 689; D690; D 691; D 692; D693

23 May 1947. (47-022)

5000	#6027 A and B
5000	#6028 A and B
5000	#6029 A and B.

25 June 1947. (47-028)

Press 1000 of each of the following - #6024 A and B.

3 July 1947. (47-030).

1000	#6028 A and B
1000	#6029 A and B

[1] Please note: The columns are presented here just as they are on the order request. I have not added headings to prevent possible mislabelling.

28 July 1947. (47-034).

1000 each of	#10-6004A #10-6004B	Master Sc82 Master Sc83
1000 each of	#10-6007A #10-6007B	Master Sc88 Master Sc86
1000 each of	#46-001A #46-001B	Master #75046 Master #74530
1000 each of	#6024 A and B	
1000 each of	#6025 A and B	
1000 each of	#6026 A and B	

11 August 1947. (47-035).

1000	#6028 A and B
1000	#6029 A and B

3 September 1947. (47-037).

1500	#6024 A and B	
600	#6025 A and B	
600	#6026 A and B	
600	#6028 A and B	Masters 725, 726
600	#6029 A and B	Masters 727, 728
600	#1505 A and B	315, 316
1500	#6073 A and B	761, 762
1500	#6074 A and B	763, 764
1500	#6075 A and B	7o5, 766

9 September 1947. (47-039).

1000 each of master #'s 761-766[2]:

4104	59-66
4105	60-65
4106	61-64
4107	62-63

500 each of master #'s 732-743:

1515 A and B	732-733
1516 A and B	734-735
1517 A and B	736-737
1518 A and B	738-739
1519 A and B	740-741
1520 A and B	742-743

12 September 1947. (47-040).

1000 12" shellac #10-6010

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[2] Comparing these numbers with those listed, I suspect it was intended to be 759-766.

17 September 1947. (47-042).

500	104-22
500	104-23
500	6035
500	6704
500	6705
500	6706
1000	10-6004

22 September 1947. (47-044).

1500 each of	#6066A - master #65	#6066B - master #655

23 September 1947. (47-045).

1500	#6024
1000	#6026
1000	#6071
1000	#5067
1500	#6067
1000	#6028
1000	#6029

29 September 1947. (47-047).

1000 each of #6072A and B; Master 759, 760
1000 each #6073A and B; Master 761, 762

29 September 1947. (47-048).

1000 each #5065 A and B; Master 711, 712
1000 each #5066 A and B; Master 713, 714
1500 each #6024 A and B; Master 455, 456

5 October 1947. (47-050).

1000 each 6025 A and B, masters 457, 458.

14 November 1947. (47-054).

500	#6051
500	#5065
500	#5066
1000	#5058
1000	#6057
1000	#6058
1000	#6059

15 November 1947. (47-054.1).

500	#6707 A and B	masters 771, 772
500	#6708 A and B	773, 774
500	#6709 A and B	775, 776
500	#1506 A and B	317, 318
500	#1507 A and B	319, 320
1000	#6073 A and B	761, 762
1000	#6074 A and B	763, 764
1000	#6075 A and B	765, 766
500	#6036 A and B	527, 531
500	#10443 A and B	481, 483

Appendix 7

Stamper condition and labels held by Plastylite Corp. - September 1952 (52-005)

12" STAMPERS	AMT. MOLDED	LABELS ON HAND
FP-51-AB	400	500
FP-52-AB	500	400
FP-53-AB	100	1000
FP-54-AB	New Set on Hand	1000
DEM-SC-1	200	500
FP-55-AB	x200 A-side	----- x
	x450 B-side	750
FP-56-AB	350	600
FP-57-AB	x200	1000
FP-59-AB	600 - 9/8 Need New Stamps	600
FP-63-AB	200 - 500 9/23	----- x
FP-92-AB	300	400
FP-93-AB	400	300
FP-94-AB	600	300
FP-120-AB	550	350
FP-121-AB	400	350
FP-201-AB	400	350
FP-251-AB	x300	100 x
FP-251-CD	650 C-side	----- x
	250 D-side	100 x
FP-252-AB	650	750
[FP]-252-CD	700	200 x
FP-253-AB	700	200 x
FP-253-CD	650	200 x
FP-301-AB	600	100 x
FP-333	100	None x
FP-334	100	None x
FP-335	100	None x
401-AB	x 700	500
402-AB	400	1000
403-AB	200	750
405-AB	400	750
406-AB	200	750
407-AB	x Need New Set - Ordered	1000
408-AB	300	100
409-AB	x Need New Set	500
410-AB	100	300
411-AB	300	None 9/16
413-AB	New Set On Hand	None
414-AB	x None	None x
415-AB	x 700	400
416-AB	x Need New Set	200 x
417-AB	600	600
418-AB	x Need New Set - OK	700
419-AB	600 x	None 9/16

12" STAMPERS	AMT. MOLDED	LABELS ON HAND
420-AB	x 700 - OK	400
421-AB	100	None 9/21
422-AB	500 A-Side x	[Blank]
	700 B-Side x	750
423-AB	300	800
424-AB	600	500
425-AB	x Need New Set	None x
426-AB	300	250
427-AB	400	500
428-AB	New Set on Hand	None
429-AB	600	300
430-AB	400 A-Side	[Blank]
	500 B-Side	300
431-AB	600	300
433-AB	New Set on Hand	None
500-A (1&2)	Need New Set x OK	1000
500-B (1&2)	Need New Set x OK	1000
504-AB	600	600
504-CD	600	600
1000-AB	600	None x
804-AB	300 78 rpm	None
805-AB	300	None
806-AB	400	None
807-AB	300	None
808-AB	300	None
809-AB	300	None
1201-AB	600	200
1202-AB	600	200
1203-AB	No Good	None
1204-AB	200	None
F-5-AB 1	100	300
2	100	400
3	None	500
F-20-AB 1	100	300
2	100	300
3	100	300
1-AB	350	600
2-AB	Need New Set OK	500
3-AB	700 x	200 x
4-AB	600	800
5-AB	400	500
7-AB	None x	500
8-AB	600	700
9-AB	800	None x
10-AB	Need New Set x OK	200 x
11-AB	300	200 x
12-AB	600	1500
14-AB	200	200 x 9/8 - None OK

12" STAMPERS	AMT. MOLDED	LABELS ON HAND
15-AB	800 x OK	200 x OK
16-AB	700 x	200 x
17-AB	None x	700
18-AB	600 x	200 x
19-AB	Need New Set x	100 x
20-AB	200	1000
22-AB	600	300
24-AB	900 x	1000
25-AB	400 A-Side	----- x
	800 B-Side	900
26-AB	200	800
27-AB	600	400
28-AB	600	600
29-AB	600	300
30-AB	350	1000
31-AB	New Set	None
32-AB	Need New Set x	550
33-AB	700	100 x
35-AB	600	350
36-AB	700	200 x
102-AB	600	400
103-AB	600	400
810-AB	800	None x
1420-AB	100 No Good x	None x
1421-AB	100	100 x
1422-AB	100	None x
1423-AB	700	200 x

Appendix 8

List of Distributors and Dealers of Folkways Records, 21 May 1959[3]

Name	Address	Territory
Arizona M. B. Krupp Distributors (D)	1919 N. 16 Street Phoenix, Arizona	Arizona, New Mexico, West Texas
Bill Lawrence Inc. (D) (Attn: Glenn Miller)	1409 - 5th Ave. Pittsburgh, Pa.	N/A
Coda Distribution Co. (D) (NL) (Attn: Mr. Bob Dahle)	47 Glenwood Ave. Minneapolis, Minnesota	Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Wyoming.
Crown Distributors (D)	600 - 15 Street Denver, Colorado	N/A
Folkways Records (D) (NL)	1827 St. Catherine St. W. Montreal, P.Q. Canada	N/A
Ideal Record Pro. Inc. (D) (NL) (Attn: Al Levine)	549 W. 52 Street New York, N.Y.	New York City
K. O. Asher Inc. (D) (NL)	7818 S. Stony Island Ave. Chicago, Illinois	Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kansas
Leslie Distributors N.E.(D)	377 Windsor St. Hartford, Conn.	Connecticut, Western Massachusetts
M. B. Krupp Distributors	PO Box 951 309 S. Santa Fe St. El Paso, Texas	Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Mississippi, East Texas.
Marnell Record Distributors (rep.)	1622 Fairmount Ave. Philadelphia, Pa.	Eastern Pennsylvania
New Sound (D) (Attn: Mr. Prager)	50 Julian Ave. San Francisco, California	Northern California, Nevada
Onondaga Supply Co., Inc. (D) (NL) (Attn: Mr. Gerber, Jr.)	344 W. Gennessee St. Syracuse, N.Y.	Syracuse, Albany, Buffalo, Rochester
Peter Fischler (D) (NL)[4]	84 Coolidge St. Brookline, Mass.	Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island
Raeburn Flerage (R)	408 S. Austin Blvd. Oak Park, Ill.	N/A
Stanley Lewis (D)	534 W. 58 Street New York, N.Y.	New Jersey
Sterling Music (rep.) (Attn: Mr. Bowdy)	2928 Prospect Ave Cleveland, OH.	Ohio
Walt Robertson	Seattle, Washington	N/A
World Wide Production Inc. (rep.) (Attn: Arthur Cohen)[5]	P. O. Box 154 North Miami Beach, Florida	N/A

[3] It is unclear whether this list is meant to be complete because it very likely is not. There are also two entries that are typed but later scratched out: Sun State Music Distributors of Los Angeles (covering Southern California) and The Children's Music Center of Los Angeles. Note: The presentation of the list here differs slightly from the original (59-028).

[4] These letter codes are as they appear on the original list. A likely interpretation is: (D) = Dealer and (rep.) or (R) = representative. It is unknown what (NL) refers to specifically, but it is likely a distributorship of some kind.

[5] See 59-010

Appendix 9

Alphabetical List of Foreign Accounts with Price Agreements (X-001).

ABC Records @ 3.32
Amigo, Sweden @ 3.32
Afrika-Bushhandling, Germany @ 40%
Algert & Co. @ 3.32
Alpha Music, Denmark @ 3.32
Almada, Canada (see folder)
Arnold Busk, Denmark @ 50%
Aubout Books @ 40% (Holland)
Asham, Brazil @ 50%
Artist Sound, Germany @ 3.90
Arne Beendiksen, Norway @ 3.34
Basart, Holland @ 3.32
Book End Folk Bks, England @ 40%
B. O. M. Service, Japan @ 4.20
British Ins. of Recorded Sound, England (10 & 12" LP's @ 2.51 ---- Ethnic @ 2.83)
Buch. Gerda-Schettler, Germany @ 50%
B. C. Playthings, Canada @ 50%
Louis Barnewitz @ 50% (Denmark)
Bro Records @ 50%
Jean Bernard, France @ 4.20
Best Recording Co., Hong Kong @ 50%
Blue Grass Club of Korea @ 40%
Carina, Australia @ 3.32 (on all records except Ethnic)
Chant Du Monde, France @ 3.32
Circle Records, Argentina @ 3.32
Colletts Records, England @ 50%
Crest Records, Australia @ 3.32
A Casa Do Livro, Brazil @ 3.76
Centro de Medicina, Italy @ List
Cuin Discoteca, 50%
Cultural Assn, France @ 40%
CSA Records, Denmark @ 3.32
Cyress Broadcasting @ 50%
DAC, Japan @ 50%
Danielajazzenwajsfield, Mex. @ 3.32
Dansk, Germany @ 3.32
Discfinders, Ireland @ 3.32
Dial Discos, Spain @ 3.32
Diffusion Artist Musical @ 3.32
Disco Center, Germany @ 3.32
Dischouse, Japan @ 3.32

Downtown OY, Finland @ 3.32
Dragon Records, England @ 3.32
Dobell's Jazz Record, London @ 40%
Dominie Group, Australia @ 4.35
Edelstein Records, Iceland @ 40%
Electrola, Germany @ 3.32
Elstree Mobile Rec., England @ 3.32
Evasion, Switzerland @ 3.32
Encounter Bk Shop, Switzerland [np]
Firma Gerda Schettler, Germany @ 50%
Folkshop Schwenken @ 50%
Folk Variety @ 50% (bill to: J. Feuss and R. Weize Records 28, Bremen, P.O.B. 11042, West Germany)
Free Reed Records, England @ 3.32
Frog Music @ 3.34
Fuga Records, Finland @ 3.32
S. W. Foto Musik, Sweden @ 40%
Goteborg Library @ 40%
R. Gudmundson, Iceland @ 3.32
Gleumus & Co. Germany @ 40%
Dr. Ludwig Hantzschel Books @ 40%
Helgeland's Imports, Norway @ 3.32
I. R. D., Italy @ 3.32
Importeurs Van Grammofon @ 3.32
Imsel Imports, Chile @ 3.32
Intl. Band, England @ 50%
Intertaal Boekhandling @ 50%
Jazz Records, Belgium @ 50%
K. K. Creative Toys, Australia @ 50%
King Hing Co., Hong Kong @ 3.32
Kirjavintti Books, Finland @ 50%
Kiwi-Reed, New Zealand @ 3.32
Kultturikanaca, Helsinki @ 3.32
Libresso Buchhandling @ 40%
Louis Barwitz Assn. @ 50%
Lost City Music @ 40%
Al Luciana, Switzerland @ 33 1/3

MAI/AS, Norway @ 3.32
David Mann, Australia @ 3.32
Mexico Intl. Imports @ 3.32
Michael Records, S. Africa @ 3.32
Music Center, Denmark @ 40%
Music-Glier @ 50%
Music Sales, Japan @ 3.32
Melodie-Musik @ 40%
Newman Enterprises, England @ 3.32 (1000 LP's @ 2.50 ea. (3000 LP's @ 2.25 ea. (5000 LP's @ 2.00 ea.)
New Welt, Germany @ 50%
New Age Books, Holland @ 40%
Nippon (See Mr. Asch)
Nuis, Holland @ 3.32
Oriel Books, England @ 50%
Osterreichischer, Australia @ 3.32
Pick, Switzerland @ 3.32
Peuples & Continents @ 3.32
Pied Piper House, Japan @ 3.32
Pilar Bravo, Spain @ 3.32
Pinto Leite, Portugal @ 40%
Plane, Germany @ 3.32
Maurice Poulior, Canada (2.75 for 10" & 12" --- 3.00 for Ethnic)
Projection Design, England @ 3.32
Rawnpike Records, England @ 3.32
Recommended Rec., England @ 50%
Radio DXCR, Mtn. View College (Phillipines @ 3.00 - 10" & 12" @ 3.50 - Ethnic)
Record Doctors, Switzerland @ 3.32
Red Clay Rec., Japan @ 4.20
Rock Bottom Dulcimers @ 50%
Rocks on Rec, Australia @ 50%
Rolf Schettler @ 3.32
Rock-A-Billy, Finland @ 40%
C. M. Raynor @ 50% (Australia)
Sacher Music, Switzerland @ 40%
Schoeller @ 3.32
Schott-Freres, Belgium @ 3.32
Shinko, Japan @ 50%
Shinsei, Japan @ 3.32

Sinminchu Pub., Japan @ 3.32
Shiplovers Soc., Australia @ 40%
David Sternberg @ 3.32
St. Olav Bokhandel, Norway @ 3.32
Sussex Univ. @ 40%
Swift Records, England @ 3.32
Swingtown, Finland @ 40%
Talk Tapes, England @ 40%
Toowong Music @ 3.76
Towa Kikau @ 40%
Trikont, Germany @ 3.32
United Bearings & Machine @ 3.32
Vaco Records, Italy @ 3.32
Vedette Records, Italy @ 3.32
Viajes Tejedor, South America @ 50%
Carlos Ortiz Vigon, Spain @ 3.32
Warimex Records @ 3.76

Appendix 10

Summary of Distributor Commissions, 1952-1954

Date	Torsen	Auf de Heide	Davis Sales	Bachman	England[6]	Anderson	Holbrook
to 9.16.52	45.75	33.24	—	3.70	—	30.96	na
9.18 - 10.14.52	37.49	111.04	—	6.38	—	45.60	na
10.15 - 10.31.52	45.24	45.40	—	—	—	17.58	na
11.1 - 11.21.52	32.47	47.51	—	20.65	—	25.38	na
11.21 - 12.10.52	33.41	43.13	6.55	1.38	—	17.08	na
12.15.52 - 1.10.53	72.70	66.00	11.17	8.21	—	24.18	na
1.10 - 2.26.53	61.92	58.05	21.32	6.37	—	29.55	na
2.17 - 3.17.53	55.32	49.05	4.15	7.11	1.20	25.42	na
3.24 - 4.23.53	37.80	43.89	3.33	6.23	2.86	13.50	na
4.23 - 5.27.53	90.51	65.54	5.40	6.92	5.81	—	na
5.27 - 6.30.53	68.01	50.57	23.76	8.77	1.11	—	na
July 1953	62.55	51.32	13.60	11.33	0.37	—	na
Sept 1953	48.67	74.53	16.42	3.14	2.40	—	5.08
Oct 1953	43.69	40.18	17.09	6.46	—	—	7.65
Nov 1953	60.83	76.89	9.60	11.77	—	—	12.41
Dec 1953	46.07	97.79	6.28	5.17	—	—	1.81
Jan 1954	44.80	54.73	5.02	11.09	—	—	8.40
Feb 1954	54.87	55.85	8.86	8.58	—	—	5.35
April 1954	48.29	44.61	9.19	10.01	—	—	na

[6] 'England' is the category term used in the original. It appears that it refers to Music Sound Systems.

Appendix 11

Pressing Orders Placed to Clark Phonograph Co., 1945-1947.[1]

28 April 1945. (45-004)

Quantity	Record Number	Master Number
1 000	351-3A	1714
1 000	351-3B	715
500	351-1A	710
500	351-1B	1711
1 000	353-2A	740
1 000	353-2B	738
500	353-3A	741
500	353-3B	742
400	4542-A	719
400	4542-B	721
300	4543-A	718
300	4543-B	724
1 000	343-3A	258-(1)
1 000	343-3B	259-(1)

25 August 1947. (47-036).

10"		
500	#5044	Masters D388, 389 (rush for legionaires)
500	#6023	463, 464
500	#5051	304, 305
300	#5026	238, 239
500	#5058	425, 426
12"		
500	#2011	505, 507
500	#2001	241, 242
250	#4013	256, 258
200	#4010	254, 265
500	#7001	229, 226

1 Please note: The columns are presented here just as they are on the order request. I have not added headings to prevent possible mislabelling. In addition, between 1945 and 1947 it appears that Clark Phonograph Co. moved from Harrison NJ. to Newark, NJ.

Appendix 12

Folkways Records Issued by Chant Du Monde[2] (65-024)

'A' list		'B' list	
2022	6865	2201	2006
2013	2372	2320	2035
2320	2374	2521	
2321	2409	2322	
2322	2421	2323	
2323	2422	2326	
5285	2843	2327	
2429	3822	2328	
5717	3524	2346	
2476	3825	2396	
2488	2154	2397	
3538	2152	2398	
8810	5592	2429	2455
6818	5328	2476	2452
6951	5255	2480	2472
2201	3558	2488	2484
2326	3524	2491	
2483	3535	3536	
2035		3538	
2396		5285	
2397		5717	
2398		6818	
2491		6951	
2346		8810	
2480			
2326			
2328			
2327			
2030			
2006			
8781			
8782			
3536			
3535			
2028			
2385			

[2] Dated 22 April 1965, this list was found in the 'Verve-Folkways' file of the Folkways Archive. Partly typewritten, partly by hand, it could be a licensing inventory conducted as part of the Verve-Folkways deal. Note: Page itself is divided into main list (left) and 'B' list on the right. The list is presented as closely to the original positions as possible.

Appendix 13

Selection of Contracts, Licenses and Letters of Intent Involving Folkways Records.[3]

Document #	Description
50-005	License: Folkways Records to Atlantic Records. 11 July 1950.
54-005	License: Folkways Records to Cue Recording. 13 January 1954.
54-010	License request: Folkways Records to Henry Strauss Productions Inc. 24 May 1954.
55-006	Cover letter to license agreement: Dr. Johanna Spector/American Friends of Hebrew University to Folkways Records. 23 March 1955
55-008	License: Musical Sound Books, Inc. (Paul Lazare/Walter Hennig) to Folkways Records. 13 April 1955.
55-014	Service Contract: Hsin C. Lee to Folkways Records. 28 October 1955.
55-016	Preliminary license offer: Helge Instad / TONO (Oslo, Norway) to Folkways Records. 21 November 1955.
55-017	License: Folkways Records to Silver Burdett Co., NYC. 1 December 1955.
55-018	License: Folkways Records to Sturgis-Grant Productions Inc. 7 December 1955.
56-017	License: L. M. Bartholomeuz, NYC. to Folkways Records. 28 May 1956.
57-013	Service Contract: Herta Marshall to Folkways Records. 5 April 1957.
57-015	License: Folkways Records to Columbia Transcriptions. 27 May 1957
57-036	License: Folkways Records to CBS Television. 24 October 1957.
58-015	Service Contract: Pete Seeger to Folkways Records. 14 March 1958.
58-038	Preliminary License: Folkways Records to Arkia Israel Inland Airlines, Tel-Aviv, Israel. 25 November 1958.
59-018	Production Agreement: Folkways Records to Alpha Music Co., NYC. 23 March 1959.
59-019	Preliminary License: Alpha Music Co. to Folkways Records. 23 march 1959.
59-060	Service Agreement: The Gordon V. Thompson for educational distribution of Folkways Records (Sam Gesser). 28 October 1959
59-062	License: Vanguard Recording Society Inc. to Folkways Records. 10 November 1959.
59-063	Service Contract: Malvina Reynolds to Folkways Records. 13 November 1959.
59-066	License: Pete Seeger to 77 Records (D. A. Dobell, 77 Charing Cross Rd. London). 2 December 1959.
60-014	License: Bell Telephone Labs, Inc. to Folkways Records. 18 march 1960.
60-031	License: Vanguard Recording Society, Inc. to Folkways Records. 28 April 1960.

[3] These items are also listed in the Document List section of this work. In addition, the wording of the descriptions is to indicate the direction of the transaction. For example, 'X to Y' indicates that material or services is being contracted from X and transferred to Y.

60-042	License: Vanguard Recording Society, Inc. to Folkways Records. 3 June 1960 (unsigned).
60-047	License: Folkways Records to A. H. Reed, Ltd. New Zealand. 1 July 1960.
61-002	License: Indiana University / Archives of Folk and Traditional Music to Folkways Records. 3 January 1961.
61-021	License: Folkways Records to Arnoldo Mondadori Editore. 15 June 1961.
62-005	License: Folkways Records to Cosdel Inc. 1 February 1962.
62-007	Amendments to 62-005
63-005	License: Ivan Annan to Folkways Records. 25 January 1964.
63-016	License: Folkways Records to Transatlantic Records Ltd. 16 April 1964.
64-006	License: Folkways Records to TROVA Industrias Musicales, Buenos Aires, Argentina. 1 March 1964.
64-007	Letter of amendment to 64-006. 1 March 1964.
64-011	License: Folkways Records to US Committee for UNICEF. 30 March 1964.
64-012	Letter of clarification to TROVA re: 64-006 with response. 6 April 1964.
64-039	Service Contract: between Folkways Records and RCA-Custom Record Sales. 1 July 1964.
64-052	Agreement in Principle: Dept. of English, Yale University, Yale Series of Recorded Poets to Folkways Records. 12 October 1964.
64-063	Agreement in Principle: Follett Publishing Co. to act as educational distributors for Folkways Records. 31 December 1964.
65-014	License: Vanguard Recording Society Inc. to Folkways Records. 1 March 1965.
65-016	License: Folkways Records to Transatlantic Records. 8 March 1965.
65-017	License: Folkways Records to Transatlantic Records (for previously licensed material). 8 March 1965.
65-025	Notice of Assignment: Folkways Records to Scholastic Magazines Inc. re: Pioneer Record Sales, Inc. May 1965.
65-026	Exerpts of License: Folkways Records to MGM re: Verve-Folkways releases. 3 May 1965.
68-007	Royalty Agreement: Pete Seeger to Folkways Records. 2 April 1968.
68-011	License: Folkways Records to Functional Media, Inc. Chicago, Ill. 18 April 1968.
68-021	License: Folkways Records to Fratelli Babbri Editori, Italy. 25 June 1968.

Appendix 14

Releases Issued in Cross License between Folkways Records and PHONOTAPES Inc. 18 December 1957 (57-045.2)[4].

Leased by Phonotapes to Folkways and Issued No Advances on royalty paid.	
1. The Latin Language (Hadas)	35¢
2. The Aeneid (Hadas)	35¢
3. Bret Harte (Kurlan)	35¢
4. French Children's Songs (Begue)	40¢
5. The Hebrew Language (Gaster)	35¢
6. Cicero (Hadas)	35¢
7. Caesar (Hadas)	35¢
8. Hiawatha (Fleetwood)	40¢
9. America Speaks (Kurlan)	35¢
10. Dante's Inferno (Die Negri)	35¢
11. Antigone (Greek version)	35¢
12. Plato (Hadas)	35¢
Projected:	
1. Leaves of Grass (University Players)	35¢
2. Chekhov Plays (University Players)	35¢

Leased by Folkways to Phonotapes and issued.		
1. Ciardi Inferno	$50 Advance	50¢ royalty
2. Ballads of Revolution	$50	50¢
3. Ballads of War of 1812	$50	50¢
4. Ballads of Civil War	$50	50¢
5. Ballads of Frontier	$50	50¢
6. Spanish Course	$50	50¢
7. Poemontage 1.	$50	50¢
8. Poemontage 2.	$50	50¢
9. Science in our Lives	$50	50¢
10. Music of Worlds People	$50	50¢
11. Audio Collage	$50	50¢
12. Negro Poets	$50	50¢
13. Leadbelly	$50	50¢
14. Sounds of Animals	$50	50¢
15. Jazz #3	$50	50¢
16. Finnegans Wake	$50	50¢
17. Songs to Grow On	$50	50¢
18. Flamenco Guitar	$50	50¢
19. Square Dances	$50	50¢
20. New Orleans String Band	$20	20¢
21. Black Watch	$20	20¢
22. Pete Seeger	$20	20¢
23. Sports Cars	$20	20¢

[4] Presented as the lists appear on the original document.

Appendix 15

List of Board of Education approved recordings offered by Folkways Records. July 1957 (57-021).

Size	Record Album Number	Title	Board of Education Assigned Number
2-10"	8003	French Children's Songs	
10"	109	Ride with the Sun	
2-12"	525	Man's Early Musical Instruments	
2-12"	504	Music of the Worlds People	
2-12"	505	Music of the Worlds People	
2-12"	506	Music of the Worlds People	
10"	740	Rhythms of World	
10"	712	Story of Jazz	
10"	803	Folk songs of Hungary	
10"	48/11	American Heritage	
10"	48/12	American Heritage	
10"	731	The World of Man	
12"	80/2	Songs & Dances of Puerto Rico	
10"	48/1	Ballads-Revolution (1767-1775)	#316
10"	48/2	Ballads-Revolution (1775-1781)	317
12"	420	American Indian Music of Southwest	1044
12"	445	Flathead Indian Music	1048
10"	838	Dutch Folk Songs	1049
12"	454	Greek Folk Music	1050
10"	706	Follow the Sunset	1051
12"	464	Indian Music of Canada	1062
10"	615	Pennsylvania Dutch Songs	1064
12"	401	Sioux & Navaho	1065
12"	51	Dance-A-Long	1071
10"	701	American Folk songs	1076
10"	22	Cowboy Ballads	1083
10"	844	Swedish Ballads	1100
10"	29	French Canadian Folk Songs	1104
10"	708	French Folk Songs For Children	1105
10"	843	German Folk Songs	1113
10"	841	Israel Folk Songs	1115

Appendix 16

Titles selected by Scholastic Magazines from Schedule A
of the Option-to-Buy Agreement of 1 September 1966 (68-014).

Number	Title and Artist
7652	THIS IS RHYTHM, Ella Jenkins
7659	LEARNING S WE PLAY Volume 1
7307	MUSIC TIME, Charity Bailey
7114	AN ANTHOLOGY OF NEGRO POETRY FOR YOUNG PEOPLE, compiled and read by Arna Bontemps.
7009	MORE SONGS TO GROW ON, Alan Mills
7308	CALL & RESPONSE RHYTHMIC GROUP SINGING, Ella Jenkins
7653	RHYTHMS OF CHILDHOOD, Ella Jenkins
7023	ACTIVITY SONGS FOR KINDS [KIDS?], Marcia Berman
8273	ADVENTURES IN RHYTHM, Ella Jenkins
7051	ANIMAL SONGS FOR CHILDREN, Peggy Seeger
7057	RHYTHM & GAME SONGS FOR THE LITTLE ONE, Volume 2, Ella Jenkins
7658	MORE LEARNING AS WE PLAY, Volume 2.
7070	THE DOWNTOWN STORY, Helen G. Purdy.
7406	FOLLOW THE SUNSET, Charity Bailey
7029	SKIP ROPE, 32 song by schoolchildren
7006	NURSERY RHYMES, GAMES & FOLK SONGS, Cisco Houston.
7056	COUNTING GAMES & RHYTHMS FOR THE LITTLE ONES, Ella Jenkins
7021	FOLK SONGS FOR YOUNG FOLK, Volume 1, ANIMALS, Alan Mills
7026	SONGS FOR ALL YEAR LONG, Gil Slote and children
7036	CHILDREN'S SONGS, Johnny Richardson
7655	SONGS & RHYTHMS FROM NEAR AND FAR, Ella Jenkins
7071	THE LAUNDRY & THE BAKERY STORY, Helen Purdy
7025	GOSH, WHAT A WONDERFUL WORLD, Gil Slote
7651	DANCE ALONG
7208	FRENCH FOLK SONGS FOR CHILDREN
7750	CHRISTMAS SONGS FROM MANY LANDS, Alan Mills
3704	INDETERMINACY, John Cage
3434	EIGHT ELECTRONIC PIECES, Ted Dockstader
7053	AMERICAN FOLK SONGS FOR CHRISTMAS, Ruth C. Seeger
2191	HERITAGE U.S.A. Volume 1, David Kurlan
5280	ELECTION SONGS OF THE UNITED STATES, Oscar Brand
7402	WHO BUILT AMERICA? B. Bonyum
5252	SONGS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVES, Michel Larue
7654	AMERICAN NEGRO FOLK & WORK SONG RHYTHMS, Ella Jenkins
9771	BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, Read by L. J. Lemisch
9120	UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION OF POETRY, Morris Schreiber.
9119	UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION OF THE NOVEL, Morris Schreiber
9881	EARLY ENGLISH BALLADS, K. D. Read
9740	BRET HARTE, D. Kurlan
9851	EARLY ENGLISH POETRY, Charles W. Dunn
9852	THE CHANGING ENGLISH LANGUAGE/CHANGING LITERARY STYLE.
9792	ANTHOLOGY OF NEGRO POETS IN THE U.S.A., Read by Arna Bontemps
7104	THE DREAM KEEPER, Langston Hughes

Number	Title and Artist
9840	TYRONE GUTHRIE: LECTURE ON DIRECTING A PLAY.
8010	SOUNDS OF SPOKEN ENGLISH
6115	THE BIRD'S WORLD OF SONG, doc.
6120	SOUNDS OF A TROPICAL RAIN FOREST IN AMERICA
6178	SOUNDS OF INSECTS
6250	SCIENCE FICTION SOUNDS EFFECTS
7745	CANTOS DE LAS POSADES, Mexican & Spanish
7719	CHANTON EN FRANCAIS, Volume 1, Part 1, A. Mills, H. Baillargeon
7720	CHANTON EN FRANCAIS, Volume 1, Part 2
7229	FRENCH CHRISTMAS SONGS, H. Baillargeon

Appendix 17

Schedule 'A' List of Recordings from Folkways/MGM Agreement (X-003)

Artist & Title	Tape	Cover Art	Liner Notes / Booklet	Addn'l Comments
Dickens and Foster - No Title	Ready - M.A. will check if stereo	None (Photo not good)	Available (M.A. Label - Yes	
Woody Guthrie - No Title	M.A. Tapes 2 Wks	None	Take liner from booklet to be made up (M.A.) also label (M.A.)	NEVER BEFORE RELEASED
Lightnin' Hopkins - "Texas Blues" (Disc) "Lightnin' Hopkins" (Folkways) DO NEW TITLE	We have	Yes (Disc)	Samuel Charters intro from booklet - liner Label - set.	
Cisco Houston No Title	? (M.A.)	None - M.A. has pix	? (M.A.)	NEW RELEASE (England Only)
Leadbelly (Folkways #2004) "TAKE THIS HAMMER"	We have	No Art - M.A. has pictures	Lomax intro for liner notes - booklet available Label - M.A. - Yes	
Peter LaFarge Title Not Set (Love Ballads)	Ready (M.A.)	None (M.A. pic?)	M.A. (?) Label - M.A.	
New Lost City Ramblers No Title Yet	M.A. This wk.	Art - M.A. (J. Cohen)	Liner, booklet, label (M.A.)	NEVER RELEASED
Peter Seeger "On Campus"	Needs work (MA)	None - Pic avail. (M.A.)	Liner, booklet (M.A.) Label Line-up (M.A.)	
Pete Seeger (Folkways #2003) "Darling Corey"	M.A.	None	Available (M.A.)	
Broonzey & Seeger (Vol. 1) ("Concert at Northwestern)	ok (M.A.)	None	Booklet & Liner ready (M.A.) Label Line-up (M.A.)	
Dave Van Ronk "Dave Van Ronk Sings the Blues"	OK (M.A.)	We have	All ready (M.A.)	
Sonny Terry (with Various Great Artists) No title.	M.A. will edit and make alb.			

Appendix 18

Schedule 'B' recordings for FW/MGM agreement, 10 March 1965[5]

Number	Title
FA 2003	Darling Corey
FA 2004	Take This Hammer
FA 2006	Sonny Terry's Washboard Band
FA 2010	Lonesome Valley
FA 2013	Railroad Songs
FA 2014	Rock Island Line
FA 2022	Cowboy Songs
FA 2028	Get On Board
FA 2030	Blues by Brownie McGhee
FA 2034	Easy Rider
FA 2035	Sonny Terry, Harmonica and Vocal
FA 2042	Hard Travelin'
FA 2043	Pete Seeger Sampler
FA 2049	Folksongs of Courting and Complaint
FA 2306	The Poplin Family of Sumter, South Carolina
FA 2314	American Banjoe in "Scruggs" Style
FA 2315	The Stoneman Family
FA 2317	Mountain Music of Kentucky
FA 2318	Mountain Music Bluegrass Style
FA 2319	American Ballads - P. Seeger
FA 2320	American Favorite Ballads, Vol. 1.
FA 2321	American Favorite Ballads, Vol. 2
FA 2322	American Favorite Ballads, Vol. 3
FA 2323	American Favorite Ballads, Vol. 4
FA 2324	A Walk in the Sun
FA 2325	Mike Seeger: Old Time Country Music
FA 2326	Big Bill Broonzy - Country Blues
FA 2327	Brownie McGhee and Sonny Terry
FA 2328	Big Bill Broonzy Sings Folk Songs
FA 2346	Cisco Houston Sings
FA 2348	Andrew Rowan Summers Sings
FA 2351	Dock Boggs
FA 2355	Old Time Music at Clarence Ashley's
FA 2364	The Unquiet Grave
FA 2365	Mountain Music on Autoharp
FA 2366	Doc Watson and His Family
FA 2369	On The Road
FA 2370	Progressive Bluegrass and other Instrumentals
FA 2371	Roger Sprung, Vol. 2

Number	Title
FA 2374	Negro Folk Rhythms
FA 2383	Dave Van Ronk Sings
FA 2385	Memphis Slim and Willie Dixon
FA 2386	Memphis Slim and Willie Dixon at Village Gate
FA 2395	New Lost City Ramblers, Vol. 5
FA 2396	New Lost City Ramblers, Vol. 1
FA 2397	New Lost City Ramblers, Vol. 2
FA 2398	New Lost City Ramblers, Vol. 3
FA 2399	New Lost City Ramblers, Vol. 4
FA 2409	The Country Gentlemen
FA 2410	The Country Gentlemen Vol. 2
FA 2411	The Country Gentlemen
FA 2412	Pete Seeger at Carnegie Hall
FA 2416	California Concert with Rolf Cahn
FA 2417	Rolf Cahn and Eric Von Schmidt
FA 2421	Traditional Blues, Vol. 1
FA 2422	Traditional Blues, Vol. 2
FA 2426	Jean and Doc at Folk City
FA 2428	Oscar Brand, Jean Ritchie, Dave Sear
FA 2429	Foc'sle Songs & Chanties
FA 2431	Folk Music of the Newport Folk Festival Vol. 1
FA 2432	Folk Music of the Newport Folk Festival Vol. 2
FA 2433	Lilly Brothers and Don Stover
FA 2434	Old Time Fiddlers Convention
FA 2437	Frank Hamilton
FA 2439	Nonesuch and other tunes
FA 2444	The Songs of Mark Spoelstra
FA 2445	American Favorite Ballads, Vol. 5
FA 2450	Pete Seeger at the Village Gate, Vol. 1
FA 2451	Pete Seeger at the Village Gate, Vol. 2
FA 2452	With Voices Together We Sing
FA 2453	Love Songs for Friends and Foes
FA 2455	Sing Out With Pete!
FA 2462	Music of New Orleans, Vol. 2
FA 2467	Son House and J. D. Short
FA 2475	The Old Reliable String Band
FA 2476	Snooks Eaglin

[5] Compiled from a catalog with the above items checked off. See X-003.

Number	Title
FA 2480	Cisco Houston Sings Songs of the Open Road
FA 2481	Bound for Glory
FA 2483	Woody Guthrie Sings
FA 2484	Woody Guthrie Sings, Vol. 2
FA 2488	Leadbelly Sings Folk Songs
FA 2491	The New Lost City Ramblers-Goin' to the Country.
FN 2511	Hootenanny Tonight
FN 2512	Hootenanny at Carnegie
FN 2513	Sing Out! Hootenanny
FN 2531	Iron Mountain and Other Songs
FA 2534	Peter La Farge
FA 2941 A/B	Leadbelly's Last Sessions, pt. 1, Vol. 1
FA 2941 C/D	Leadbelly's Last Sessions, pt. 2, Vol. 1
FA 2942 A/B	Leadbelly's Last Sessions, pt. 1, Vol. 2
FA 2942 C/D	Leadbelly's Last Sessions, pt. 2, Vol. 2
FJ 2841	Jazz at Town Hall
FJ 2842	Yamekraw.
FG 3522	An Irishman in North Americay
FG 3524	The Real Boogie Woogie of Memphis Slim
FG 3526	Negro Folksongs and Tunes
FG 3534	American Guitar
FG 3535	Memphis Slim: The Real Honky Tonk
FG 3536	Memphis Slim: Chicago Boogie Woogie
FG 3552	This Little Light of Mine
FG 3554	Barrelhouse Buck
FG 3555	The Barrelhouse Blues of Speckled Red.
FS 3812	Arkansas
FS 3817	Big Bill Broonzy, Sonny terry, Brownie McGhee
FS 3818	Ballads Blues and a Spiritual
FS 3829	Big Joe Williams
FS 3821	Sonny Terry's New Sound
FS 3822	Lightnin' Hopkins
FS 3824	Arbee's Blues
FS 3825	The Women Blues of Champion Jack Dupree
FS 3826	Blues by Jazz Gillum
FH 5251	American Industrial Ballads
FH 5263	American Moonshine and Prohibition
FH 5285	Talking Union
FW 8705	The Kobza

Number	Title
FW 8707	She Was Poor But She Was Honest
FW 8708	British Broadside Ballads
FW 8710	Songs of South Africa
FW 8711	Raasche and Alan Mills
FW 8712	Raasche Sings
FW 8718	Australian Folksongs and Ballads
FW 8719	Folk Songs and Ballads of the British Isles
FW 8723	Cante Jondo
FW 8725	Folksongs of Norway
FW 8727	Folksongs of Mexico
FW 8728	Revival In Britain, Vol. 1
FW 8732	New Briton Gazette
FW 8733	Calypso Travels
FW 8734	New Briton Gazette, Vol. 2
FW 8735	Yemenite & Other Folksongs of Israel
FW 8737	Sephardic Folksongs
FW 8738	Selected Songs of Eliakum Zunser
FW 8740	Ruth Rubin Concert
FW 8744	Songs of the Maritimes
FW 8745	Music of Asia
FW 8748	Traditional Songs of Chile
FW 8749	Music of Peru
FW 8750	Hawaiian Chant, Hula and Music
FW 8752	Exotic Dances
FW 8754	Russian Choral Music
FW 8755	Two Way Trip: Brit. Amer. Song Exchange
FW 8756	Songs of Two Rebellions 1715-45
FW 8757	Scottish Popular Songs
FW 8758	Songs of Robert Burns
FW 8759	Bothy songs of Scotland
FW 8760	Traditional Songs and Ballads of Scotland
FW 8762	Irish Traditional Songs
FW 8764	Songs, Ballads Saskatchewan & Manitoba, Dance
FW 8771	Folksongs of Newfoundland
FW 8773	The Pennywhistlers
FW 8774	Songs of Love, Play, Protest
FW 8775	The Grail Singers
FW 8776	The Borders
FW 8778	Songs of the Auvergne
FW 8781	Traditional Music of Ireland
FW 8782	Traditional Music of Ireland, Vol. 2
FW 8791	Songs of the Phillipines
FW 8801	Songs and Dances of Turkey
FW 8802	Folk Songs and Dances From Puerto Rico

Number	Title
FW 8803	Songs and Dances of Yugoslavia
FW 8809	Songs of the British West Indies
FW 8810	The Canadian Black Watch and U.S.A.
FW 8811	Caribbean Rhythms
FW 8815	Arabic Love Songs and Dances
FW 8816	Songs of Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan
FW 8817	Folk Songs of Chile
FW 8825	Square Dances with Calls
FW 8826	Jigs and Reels
FW 8827	Old Time Couple Dances
FW 8829	Spanish Dances
FW 8837	Austrian Folk Dances, Vol. 1
FW 8838	Austrian Folk Dances, Vol. 2
FW 8839	Austrian Schuhplattler
FW 8841	Argentine Dances, Vol. 1
FW 8842	Argentine Dances, Vol. 2
FW 8844	Dances of Venezuela
FW 8856	Songs and Dances of Iran
FW 8861	Tunisia, Vol. 1
FW 8862	Tunisia, Vol. 2
FW 8863	Tunisia, Vol. 3
FW 8867	Tarascan & Other Music of Mexico
FW 8870	Mariachi Music from Mexico
FW 8871	Field Trip England
FW 8872	Field Trip Ireland (As I Roved About)
FW 8877	Ellie Mao Sings Chinese Folk Songs
FW 8880	Chinese Folk Songs and Opera
FW 8881	Waka & Other Compositions of Japan
FW 8882	The Ruse of the Empty City
FW 8883	Beating the Emperor's Robe
FA 2375	The Phipps Family, Mountain Folk Songs
FW 8716	Songs from Kenya
FL 9671	Jerico-Jim Crow
FA 2307	American Folk Ballads
FA 2408	Red Allen and Frank Wakefield
FW 8885	Festival of Japanese Music
FW 8886	Festival of Japanese Music
FA 2379	Grand Ole Opry
FA 2404	400 Years of Folk Music
FA 2456	Broadsides - Seeger
FA 2471	Barbara Dane - The Blues
FG 3581	Mike Hurley: First Songs
FW 8761	Music for Classical Oud
FA 2492	New Lost City Ramblers Instrumental
FJ 2843	Mary Lou Williams
FS 32834	Mary Lou Williams (FJ 2843 in Stereo)

Appendix 19

Verve/Folkways Releases from FV/FVS-9000 (X-015)

FV/FVS-9000	THE ROOTS OF LIGHTNIN' HOPKINS	Lightnin' Hopkins
9001	TAKE THIS HAMMER	Leadbelly
9002	PASSING THROUGH	Cisco Houston
9003	RURAL DELIVERY NO. 1	New Lost City Ramblers
9004	PETER LA FARGE SINGS WOMEN BLUES	Peter La Farge
9005	WHO'S THAT KNOCKING	Hazel Dickens / Alice Foster
9006	DAVE VAN RONK SINGS THE BLUES	Dave Van Ronk
9007	BED ON THE FLOOR	Woody Guthrie
9008	IN CONCERT	Pete Seeger / Big Bill Broonzy
9009	ON CAMPUS	Pete Seeger
9010	GET TOGETHER	Sonny Terry
9011	FOLK GO-GO	Various Artists
9012	SOMETHING NEW	Herb Metoyer
9013	PETE SEEGER FOLK MUSIC! LIVE AT THE VILLAGE GATE	Pete Seeger
9015	MAMA YANCY SINGS, ART HODES PLAYS BLUES	Mama Yancy / Art Hodes
9017	GAMBLER'S BLUES	Dave Van Ronk
9018	THE TIMES I'VE HAD	Mark Spoelstra
9019	GUITAR HIGHWAY	Sonny Terry / Brownie McGhee
9020	LITTLE BOXES AND OTHER BROADSIDES	Pete Seeger
9021	KEEP YOUR HANDS OFF HER	Leadbelly
9022	LIGHTNIN' STRIKES	Lightnin' Hopkins
9023	GRANADA AND OTHER FAVORITE SONGS	Fritz Wunderlich
9024	THE BLUES PROJECT LIVE AT CAFE AU GO GO	The Blues Project
9025	DOCK BOGGS	Dock Boggs
9026	JEAN & DOC AT FOLK CITY	Jean Ritchie / Doc Watson